

P 25  
S4  
K5

# CURRENT TRENDS IN LINGUISTICS

Edited by

THOMAS A. SEBEOK<sup>†</sup>

VOLUME 5

*Linguistics in South Asia*

Associate Editors:

MURRAY B. EMENEAU AND CHARLES A. FERGUSON

Assistant Editors:

GERALD B. KEILEY AND NORMAN H. ZIDE

Assistant to the Editor

MAGDALENA ZIEFFRITZ AND THERNE GLOVER



1969

MOUTON  
THE HAGUE • PARIS

2  
EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

on a plateau, ignorant of what may lie ahead in regard to the budgetary situation under the Nixon administration and in the next Congress, yet optimistic that the federal support of science will, over the long pull, turn upward withal. In this time of relative famine at home, it was very gratifying indeed to have just recently been granted partial support in aid of Vol. 10 by The Canada Council (as will be spelled out in my introduction to that book). The burdens of financing the series, incidentally, are shared (beginning with Vol. 8) with the staff of the Center for Applied Linguistics, notably John H. Hammer, for whose efforts we can all be grateful.

This volume, on *Linguistics in South Asia*, once again exemplifies an important facet of editorial policy, first announced in Vol. 2, calling for the services of "the best and most knowledgeable collaborators available, regardless of their location or even agency in English." The present contributors come from three continents: South Asia — Ceylon, India, and Pakistan — is heavily represented; from Europe, we welcome our first Soviet collaborator, as well as authors from Czechoslovakia, England, France, and The Netherlands; and quite a few of those now residing in the United States are themselves of Asian provenance. The fact that an increasing number of *Current Trends* contributors lack native competence in English continues to pose mounting problems, involving the location of competent translators and taxing the skills of our technical staff both in editing and indexing, but the principle of global distribution of authorship still seems to me paramount. The death of Louis Renou, a few days after he wrote me that "je n'estime pas nécessaire de revivre la traduction anglaise avant qu'elle soit devenue aux presses", raised special perplexities that were essentially resolved by Barend A. Van Noorden (University of California, Berkeley); further revisions in the manuscript were then made by Associate Editor Emeneau and in galley by Staal.

The Master List of Abbreviations, Index of Languages, and Index of Names were compiled by Magdalena Zoepfritz (now at the University of Miami). The Editor wishes to express his appreciation to her for attending to these chores and many others; her help in seeing this book through galley proof stage has been invaluable, as has that of Trienne Glover in seeing it through page proof stage. Thanks are due to the four editorial associates and the thirty-four living contributors whose work appears in the following pages, for their wholehearted cooperation; to Albert S. Storm and Julia A. Petrov, of the U.S. Office of Education, for their continuing help and understanding; and to the staff of Boston & Co., for their responsiveness to my editorial demands, reasonable and unreasonable.

I have taken the liberty of dedicating this book to the memory of Louis Renou (d. 1966) and of my old friend, Joseph K. Yasaigwa, word of whose death reached me while I was drafting these lines.

Bloomington, December 24, 1968  
THOMAS A. BURROW

CONTENTS

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION . . . . .	vii
MASTER LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS . . . . .	viii

PART ONE: INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES

Sanskrit, by Thomas Burrow . . . . .	3
Comparative Indo-Aryan, by Gordon H. Falkenberg . . . . .	36
Middle Indo-Aryan, by Ernest Bender . . . . .	46
Hindi, by Vladimir Mihner . . . . .	55
Biographical Review of Bengali Studies, by Keriya L. Chakraborty and Charles A. Ferguson . . . . .	85
Muruthi, by Franklin C. Southworth . . . . .	99
Gujarati, by Prabodh B. Pandit . . . . .	105
Oriya and Assamese, by D. P. Pattnayak . . . . .	122
Punjabi, by Kali Charan Bahl . . . . .	151
Sindhi, by Lachman M. Kumbhandani . . . . .	201
Sinhalese, by M. W. Sugathapala De Silva . . . . .	235
Nepali and Pahari, by T. W. Clark . . . . .	249
Urdu, by Masud Husain Khan . . . . .	277
Kashmiri and Other Dardic Languages, by Brij B. Kachru . . . . .	284

PART TWO: DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES

Comparative Dravidian Studies, by Bhadriraju Krishnamurti . . . . .	309
The North-Hinter Dravidian Languages, by Murray B. Emeneau . . . . .	334
Tamil, by Kanai V. Zvelebil . . . . .	343
Malayalam, by Vasudery I. Subramaniam . . . . .	372
Telugu, by Gerald Kelley . . . . .	382
Kannada, by H. S. Pilligiri . . . . .	394

PART THREE: OTHER LANGUAGE FAMILIES

Munda and Non-Munda Austroasiatic Languages, by Norman H. Zide . . .	411
The Tibeto-Burman Languages of South Asia, by Roy Andrew Miller . . .	431
Iranian Languages, by D. N. MacKenzie . . . . .	450

PART FOUR: LINGUISTICS AND RELATED FIELDS IN SOUTH ASIA

Pagani, by Louis Renouf . . . . .	481
Sanskrit Philosophy of Language, by J. F. Staal . . . . .	499
General Linguistics in South Asia, by Ashok R. Kulkar . . . . .	532
Toward a Phonological Typology of the Indian Linguistic Area, by A. K. Ramanijan and Colin Masica . . . . .	543
Official Language Problems and Policies in South Asia, by Jyotindra Das Gupta . . . . .	578
Sociolinguistics in South Asia, by John J. Gumperz . . . . .	597
The Semantics of Kinship in South India and Ceylon, by Nur Yilmaz . . . . .	607
English in South Asia, by Braj B. Kachru . . . . .	627
Linguistic Studies in Pakistan, by Anwar S. Dill . . . . .	679
Linguistics in Ceylon (I), by D. E. Hettiaratchi . . . . .	736
Linguistics in Ceylon (II), Tamil, by A. Sathasivam . . . . .	752
BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES . . . . .	760
INDEX OF LANGUAGES . . . . .	771
INDEX OF NAMES . . . . .	789

MASTER LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAAH	<i>Acta Analitica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i> (Budapest)
ACTS	American Council of Learned Societies
ActO	<i>Acta Orientalia</i> , editum Societate Orientalis Danica, Norvegia, Svecia (= <i>Le Monde Oriental</i> , Copenhagen)
ADAW	<i>Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst</i> (Berlin)
AIOC	All India Oriental Congress
AIOH-L	<i>Annali, Istituto Universitario Orientale, Sezione Linguistica</i> (Napoli)
AL	<i>Acta Linguistica</i> (= Revue internationale de linguistique structurale, Copenhagen)
ALB	<i>The Adyar Library Bulletin, Adyar</i> (Madras, India)
ALH	<i>Acta Linguistica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i> (Budapest)
ALI	<i>Atica linguisticae des postes frontiers</i>
AM	<i>Acta Major, Nova Series</i> (London)
ASA	<i>American Anthropologist</i> (Menasha, Wis.)
AS:AT	<i>Acta e Monumentis Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae et Litterae 'La Colymbia'</i> (Helsinki)
AsL	<i>Anthropological Linguistics</i> (Bloomington, Ind.)
AsALPRO	<i>Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire orientales et slaves</i> (Brussels)
Anthropos	<i>Anthropos</i> (= Revue internationale de phonologie et de linguistique/internationale Zeitschrift für Völker- und Sprachkunde, Fribourg, Suisse)
AO	<i>Archiv Orientalis</i> (Praha)
AOH	<i>Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i> (Budapest)
AR	<i>Asiatic Researches</i> , Transactions of the Society instituted in Bengal for inquiring into the History and Antiquities, The Acts, Sciences, and Literature of Asia (Calcutta, 11 vols, 1799-1810, Repr. London)
ArchL	<i>Archivum Linguisticum</i> , A review of Comparative Philology and General Linguistics (Glasgow)
AS	<i>American Speech</i> , A Quarterly of Linguistic Usage (New York)
AV	Avestan. See pp. 3-35
AUCPh	<i>Acta Universitatis Carolinae Philologica</i> , Praha
B	Bengali. See p. 646, fn. 78
BDC	<i>Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute</i> (Poona)
B.E.	Buddhist Era
BEFFO	<i>Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient</i> (Saigon)
Bhv	<i>Bhadracharya Vaidya</i> (Bombay)
BLHP	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica</i> (Taipei)
Bo	Bombay and Sind. See p. 646, fn. 78
BPTJ	<i>Bulletyn polskiego Towarzystwa Językoznawczego</i> [Bulletin de la Société polonaise de Linguistique] (Warszawa & Kraków)
Br.	Brahui. See p. 310
BS.	See V.S.
BSL	<i>Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris</i> (Paris)
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of The School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London</i> (London)
CAJ	<i>Central Asian Journal</i> (The Hague & Wiesbaden)
Cahab	<i>Current Anthropology</i> , A weekly journal of the sciences of man (Chicago)





110

# MASTER LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

VDI	Verma Dierckx Inoud (Noelval)
V.L.	See V.S.
V.2	Verma Dierckx Inoud (Noelval)
V.N.A.	Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, afdeling Letterkunde, Nieuwe reeks (Amsterdam).
VLU	Vestnik Leningradskogo gosudarstvennogo Universiteta (Leningrad).
V.S.	Vestnik sadval.
Word	See D. 481, fn. 1.
W.R.	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes (Wien).
WZKS	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens und Archiv für indische Philologie (Wien).
WZUR	Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Universität Rostock. Gesellschafts- und sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe.
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft (Weitzaden).
ZPNS	Zeitschrift für Phonetik und allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft (Berlin). (From vol. 14, 1961: Zeitschrift für Phonetik, Sprachwissenschaft und Kommunikationsforschung.)

## PART ONE INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES

and *Sinhalese grammar* (unpublished M.A. thesis, Sydney, 1964) is based, the author claims, on fieldwork done on errors in English. Carlton Samarajiva and R. M. Abeysekera, "Some pronunciation difficulties of Sinhalese learners of English as a foreign language", *LL* 14:1 and 2 (1964), and T. Kandiah, "Teaching of English in Ceylon. Some problems in contrastive statement", *LL* 15:3 and 4 (1965), deal largely with phonology, although some grammatical features are touched upon. Kandiah, which is meant as a reply to Samarajiva and Abeysekera, is a more comprehensive and systematic analysis of the subject. Kandiah published another paper on "The teaching of English as a second language in Ceylon" in the *Transactions of the University of Ceylon Linguistic Society* (1964). Chitra Wickramasuriya, "Mistakes in vocabulary and grammar resulting from difficulties with the phonemes of English", *Journal of the National Educational Society of Ceylon* 11:1 and 2 (1960) was the first error analysis to be published.

#### *Teaching of the Mother Tongue*

De Silva, "Synopsis of a programme for the teaching of Sinhalese grammar to Sinhalese students", *Journal of the National Educational Society of Ceylon* 18:1 (1964) and "Some notes on the teaching of Sinhalese grammar" (5), *Piyawara* 11 (1959-60), deal with the problem of teaching literary grammar in schools.

#### *Textbooks for non-Sinhalese Speakers*

Since Sinhalese was made the official language of the country, several Beginners' Courses have been written in Ceylon, but most of these are not properly planned works. Three books, however, are worth mentioning; namely, D. Gansinghe, *Sinhalese: the spoken idiom* (München, 1962), M. W. S. De Silva and D. D. De Sarma, *Spoken Sinhalese for the beginner* (Colombo, 1963), and G. H. Fairbanks, J. W. Gale and M. W. S. De Silva, *Colloquial Sinhalese* (Cornell South Asia Program, Ithaca, 1968).

## NEPALI AND PAHARI

T. W. CLARK

### PAHARI

1.1 The term Pahari, glossed by Grierson as 'of or belonging to the mountaineers', was used by him to designate the languages of the Himalayan and connected ranges within an area extending from Kashmir to east Nepal.<sup>1</sup> These languages he classified in three groups geographically: Western Pahari, including Kashmiri and the languages of the Samba Hills; Central Pahari, Garhwali and Kumaoni; and Eastern Pahari of Khas-Kurh, commonly called Nepali (Nepali). In so doing, he restricted Pahari to one language, Nepali. The other Himalayan languages of the country he treated separately in another volume,<sup>2</sup> on the grounds that they were Tibeto-Burman not Indo-Aryan, as Nepali is.

1.2 In this essay the term Pahari is used with a different denotation. It comprises those 'Himalayan dialects', as Grierson calls them, which, taken together with Nepali, constitute the languages which are spoken today in the Hill sections of the country. It does not include the languages of the Nepalese Terai, the Plains sector of the country, which are for the most part dialects of the languages of the north Indian states which share a common frontier with the Terai.

### 2. LANGUAGE STATISTICS

2.1 According to the preface of the Nepal Census Report 1957/58,<sup>3</sup> the census tabulations showed 58 languages spoken in Nepal. About 20 of these were grouped together into a category of "Other languages",<sup>4</sup> because there were fewer than 1000 persons speaking any one of them. If from the remaining 38 we subtract the 18 Terai and Indian languages which are included in the returns, we are left with 20 languages which are spoken in the Hills today: Nepali, Tamang or Lama, Newari, Tharu, Magar, Rai, Khas, Gurung, Limbu, Blaoche Sherpa, Sumuwar, Chepung, Tamu,

<sup>1</sup> G. A. Grierson, *Linguistic survey of India* 9: 41.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 3:1177 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Census of Population, Nepal, 1957-58 A.D.* (Department of Statistics, Kathmandu, Nepal, 1959).

<sup>4</sup> The report of the census held in 1961 has not yet been published.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. xi.

Danuwār, Majhi, Kumkate, Thakali, Darai, Jirel, Byansi and Raji.<sup>8</sup> Of these the last eight have fewer than 10,000 speakers. The entry *Thari* needs qualification as 242,850 speakers out of a national total of 359,594 live in the Tarai. *Rai Kirāi* and *Bhojē Sherpā* are conglomerate categories. The former includes a number of disparate tribal languages, according to Grierson 17.<sup>9</sup> It is doubtful too whether Bhojē and Sherpā should be regarded as one language, even though they are mutually comprehensible. Bhojē is a Tibetan language spoken by persons resident in the trans-himalayan regions of north and north-west Nepal. The Sherpās live mostly in the north-east of the country on the southern slopes of the Himalayan range.

2.2 The total population of Nepal in 1957/58 was 8,256,625, of whom 5,867,208 lived in the Hills and 2,389,417 in the Tarai.<sup>10</sup> The Hill language returns, recorded under *Mother Tongue* and *Secondary Language*, and corrected to the nearest 1,000, are as follows.<sup>11</sup>

<i>Mother Tongue</i>	
Nepali	3,920,000
Tamang or Lama	478,000
Newari	372,000
Magar	260,000
Rai Kirāi:	
Gurung	233,000
Limbu	162,000
Thakali	145,000
Darai	117,000
Jirel	70,000
Byansi	17,000
Raji	
<i>Secondary Language</i>	
Nepali	1,013,000
Newari	10,000
All others	20,000 (approx.)

These figures leave no doubt regarding the primacy of Nepali among the Hill languages of the country. Out of a total Hill population of 5,867,000, 4,933,000, i.e. 84.1%, speak Nepali, either as their mother tongue or as a secondary language.

### 3. THE NAME NEPALI

3.1 Nepali is *de facto* and *de jure* the national language of Nepal. It is the language of government, of the university and schools, of Nepal Radio and of the newspapers. It is the lingua franca throughout the Hills, except in the sparsely inhabited regions to the

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. 44-7.

<sup>9</sup> *LSJ* 3: 1,305 ff. 493 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Census Report, P. V.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. 44-7.

north of the Himalayan range where the people are ethnically and linguistically Tibetan.<sup>12</sup> Yet the title *Nepali* as applied to the language is of very recent origin, and even today it has not been universally adopted in common parlance, either by those who speak it as their mother tongue or by those to whom it is a second language.

3.2 If the early Khas tribesmen, who so far as is known were the original speakers of the language,<sup>13</sup> had a distinctive name for it, there is no record of it extant. It is possible that an appellation of some antiquity is preserved in the Newari term *khyā bhāy*, i.e. *khyā bhāyā*, which the Newars used, and still use, to distinguish Nepali from their own language, *newā: bhāy*, or its variant *newā: bhāy*, i.e. *newā: bhāyā*. Kirkpatrick in 1793 knew the language by the name *parbatīyā*,<sup>14</sup> which corresponds to the modern *parbatī* or *parbatīyā*, i.e. belonging to the hills. Hamilton, who was in Nepal during 1802-3, knew both terms. 'The language spoken by the mountain Hiadus in the vicinity of Kathmandu, is usually called the Parbatīya basha, or mountain dialect; but west from the capital, it is more commonly known by the name Khas basha, or dialect of the Khas country, because it seems to have been first introduced into the territory of that name.'<sup>15</sup> Hodgson, who was in Kathmandu till 1843, also employed both terms, *khas bhasha* and *parbatīya bhasha*.<sup>16</sup> So it is apparent that both names were current until about the middle of the 19th century. According to a tradition still to be heard in Kathmandu, Jang Bahadur decreed that the word *khas* was to be discontinued and replaced by *Chetri* or *Gorkhā*. This story would seem to find confirmation by the occurrence in a drill manual issued in 1874 by order of Rājādūp Sīmha Rājā of a note that the manual had been translated from English into '*gorkhā bhāṣā nāgarī abhikāśa*', i.e. '*into the Gorkhālī language in the Nāgarī script*'.<sup>17</sup> In 1899, Dopping-Heppental and Kushal Sing Buralohki published in Calcutta a *Khas Gorkhālī grammar and vocabulary*.<sup>18</sup> The spelling Gorkhālī instead of Gorkhālī is interesting in view of the now widely accepted anglicised forms *Gorkha* and *Gorkhali*. Hemraj Pandit's grammar, published in Kathmandu in 1912, was entitled *Gorkhābhāṣā vyākaran*,<sup>19</sup> and in 1917 another grammar appeared also under the title *Gorkhābhāṣā*. The establishment about 1920 of an official language and censorship committee under the style *Gorkhābhāṣā Prākāśinī Samiti* is evidence that the term *gorkhā bhāṣā*, as well as its cognate *gorkhālī bhāṣā*, was at this time fully acceptable to the Nepalese government.

3.3 Nevertheless in the body of his grammar Hemraj Pandit uses the term *nepālī-bhāṣā*, which suggests that by the second decade of the 20th century a new name was

<sup>12</sup> D. L. Spellgrave, *Himalayan pilgrimage* (Oxford, 1961).

<sup>13</sup> G. Tucci, *Preliminary report on two scientific expeditions to Nepal 129* (Serie Orientale Roma, 1960).

<sup>14</sup> Colonel Kirkpatrick, *An account of the Kingdom of Nepal* 230 (London, 1811).

<sup>15</sup> Francis Hamilton (Bathurst), *An account of the Kingdom of Nepal* 16 (Edinburgh, 1819).

<sup>16</sup> B. H. Hodgson, *The languages, literature and religion of Nepal and Tibet* 1 (London, 1873).

<sup>17</sup> Rājādūp Sīmha Rājā succeeded Jang Bahadur as Maharaja of Nepal.

<sup>18</sup> M. E. Dopping-Heppental, Subadar Kushal Sing Buralohki, *Khas Gorkhālī grammar and vocabulary* (Calcutta, 1899).

<sup>19</sup> Gururaj Hemraj Papali, *Gorkhālī vyākaran* (Kathmandu, (?) 1912; this is the traditional date; the volumes are not dated).

coming into use in Kathmandu. The name *nepāl* and derivatives from it were first employed to designate the language in British India. Ayton's grammar, published in 1820,<sup>17</sup> was entitled *A grammar of the Nepalese language*. The phrase *nepālībhāṣā* appears in a translation of the Bible made in 1821. The word *nepāl* seems first to have been used by Turnbull in his *Nepāl grammar*,<sup>18</sup> and in 1877 Kellogg used the variant spelling *Nepāl* in the second edition of his Hindi grammar. These titles did not, however, command themselves to the Nepalese of Kathmandu. Grierson declared both terms to be of foreign coinage, and he was probably right at the time. Europeans call it *Nepāl* or *Nepālī*. This is a misnomer for it is not the language of Nepal, but only of the Aryan rulers of the country. The inhabitants of the country give this name (in a slightly corrupted form) to the principal Tibeto-Burman language of the country, Newāri, and call the Aryan language *Khaschurā* or *Khasi-spēch*. It is also called *Gorkhālī*. Another name is *Parbatiyā* (which is much used in Nepal itself by the people who speak the language...), I shall as a rule employ the name *Khaschurā*, this being the name employed in British India by the people who speak it.<sup>19</sup> It would appear that Grierson had not heard of Jung Bahadur's edict against the use of the term *Khas*. The name *Nepāl* however was not to remain unacceptable for much longer. Its use in *Gorkhābhāṣā vyākaraṇ*, at a time when official censorship was in force, represents at least an official *nil* obiter. In the 1920s R. L. Turner was writing his *Nepālī Dictionary* with the knowledge and support of the Ministry of Nepal; and in the 30s approval was accorded to the changing of the style of the literary and censoring committees from *Gorkhābhāṣā Prākāśinī Samiti* to *Nepālībhāṣā Prākāśinī Samiti*.

3.4 Thus by the 1930s the word *Nepāl* had been accepted as the statutory designation of the national language, but it did not then, nor has it yet, become current in colloquial usage. Mother-tongue speakers of the language acknowledge the term but regard it as an educated neologism. In their own speech they still refer to the language as *Parbatiyā*. The Newāris call it *Parbatiyā* or *Gorkhālī*. In the eastern provinces *Khaschurā* is still heard. Usage in the Gurkha Brigade in Malaya fluctuates between *Gorkhālī*, *Gorkhāl* and *Nepāl*. The Newāris are still unhappy about the official change in nomenclature, though they are prepared to admit that *Khasi bhāṣā* is the national language. They argue that Nepal is the historical name of the Valley of Kathmandu, and that, as the Newāris are and always have been the majority tribe in the Valley, if the term is to be applied to any language it should be applied to their own. Consequently two very similar names for two quite different languages are current in Kathmandu, *Nepālībhāṣā* and *Nepālībhāṣā*, or even more confusing *Nepālī* and *Nepāl*.

#### 4. HISTORY OF NEPALI AND PRAKARI

4.1 The history of Nepāl has yet to be written, but the researches of Turner have indicated where such a history must begin, and the editors of the Nepalese publi-

<sup>17</sup> J. A. Ayton, *A grammar of the Nepalese language* (Calcutta, 1820).

<sup>18</sup> A. Turnbull, *Nepāl grammar and vocabulary* (Dumfries, 1857).

<sup>19</sup> KSL, 9, 418.

<sup>20</sup> Turner, *op. cit.* 1-112.

cation *śikhā prakāś* have made much early language material available. According to Tucci, a people known as Khas entered north-west Nepal at the end of the 12th century, and founded a large empire which embraced the south-western region of Tibet and much of the north and west of Nepal. The last two kings of the Khas dynasty were Puryamalla and Pribhimalla, and it was during their reigns that Nepāl was first used as an epigraphic language. Among the inscriptional material Tucci discovered was a *kamākṣapātra*, part of which is in Nepālī. Tucci dated it Śāle 1298 (AD 1376).<sup>21</sup> Narahariṭh, one of the editors of *śikhā prakāś*, who also photographed this inscription, gives the date as Śāle 1278 (AD 1356).<sup>22</sup> This discrepancy has not yet been cleared up. For some time the *kamākṣapātra* was regarded as the earliest document in Nepālī, but Bhatkya Pokharel brought to light a *idharapātra* in the name of Puryamalla, which is dated AD 1337.<sup>23</sup> Narahariṭh discovered a second *idharapātra*, issued by Pribhimalla, and dated Śāle 1280 (AD 1358).

4.2 The Nepālī portions of these three *pātras* are reproduced by Bhatkya Pokharel in *Pāc śay varṇa*, where they are edited with lexical, grammatical and historical notes, and accompanied by translations in modern Nepālī. The specification and conditions of the gāṭhā mentioned, which are introduced by the phrase *nikāṣa dāsa* (order of the king), are in each case in a form of Nepālī. The remaining portions are in Sanskrit. These portions are not given by Pokharel, but may be found, in the case of the two later texts, in *śikhā prakāś*. The Nepālī vocabulary consists for the most part of proper names, land-measurement and legal terms; but the verbal and pronominal forms, and the nominal inflections, are numerous enough to identify the language as an old form of Nepālī, and to justify using the texts as a starting-off point for a historical study.

4.3 These texts mark the beginning of a fairly well represented epigraphic tradition. *Pāc śay varṇa* contains over 60 inscriptions and documents composed during the period from Puryamalla (1337) to Pribhimalla's Śāh (1770). They belong either to the Khas Malla or the Gurkha dynasties, and may therefore be taken as being representative of western Nepālī.

4.4 Three 17th century Nepālī inscriptions have been found in Kathmandu: (a) a Śiva tablet in Mahānāṭ in Kathmandu city, dated 1641, and bearing the name of Jaya Lakṣmī Malla, then king of Kathmandu; (b) an inscription at Gubhyāśvārī in the name of Jaya Prāśad Malla, son and successor of Jaya Lakṣmī; (c) three dedication stones all bearing the same text, and dated 1670, also in the name of Jaya Prāśad. These stones were erected to commemorate the excavation of the Rānī Pokhri (Queen Lake) near the north-east corner of the old city of Kathmandu. Their text was annotated and translated by the present writer in an article 'The Rānī Pokhri inscrip-

<sup>21</sup> Narahariṭh Toppo, and Bhatkya Pokharel, *śikhā prakāś* (Kathmandu, 1955).

<sup>22</sup> Tucci, *op. cit.* 68, where Śāle 1289 should read Śāle 1298.

<sup>23</sup> *śikhā prakāś* 2, 150.

<sup>24</sup> Bhatkya Pokharel, *Pāc śay varṇa* 3-5 (Kathmandu, 1963).

tion. *Kāṭī* - 'du' is No epigraphic or other material in old Nepāl has, so far as is known to me, been found in eastern Nepāl.

4.5 The pioneer work in Nepāl historical studies which owes its initiation to the editors of *śikhā prakāśa*, Narāyaṇa Paudh and Bādurām Acārya, has been continued with assiduity by Bālkrṣṇa Pokharē. *Pāc śay vāya* contains most of the known material in Nepāl from AD 1337 to the middle of the 19th century; and being provided with glossarial and other annotations it constitutes a standard source work. In two later publications, *Nepālī bhāṣā ra sēhitya* (1961) and *Rājya bhāṣā* (1965),<sup>24</sup> Pokharē reviews and analyses the language material and takes note of chronological and dialectal variations. In one chapter of *Nepālī bhāṣā ra sēhitya*, 'Nepālī bhāṣā katha', he divides Nepāl into three chronological categories: Old Nepāl (14th and 15th centuries); Medieval Nepāl (15th century to 1900); Modern Nepāl (after 1900); and into three regional dialects, Western, Central and Eastern. The same chapter contains an analysis of the phonology and morphology of the early material. Its usefulness, however, is impaired by its being based to a large extent on a traditional rather than an *ad hoc* system of classification. The linguistic data has been sorted into pre-defined categories, some borrowed from Sanskrit grammarians and others from classical philology; and diachronic and comparative conclusions have been reached without the detailed synchronic examination which ought to have preceded them. Nepāl historical studies have not attained definitive statement in Pokharē's work, but they have been considerably and commendably advanced.

4.6 From 1770, documentation in Nepāl, both in manuscript and print, is plentiful, and when the government archives are open there should be more. The memoirs of Pṛthvīśāy Śāh have been published;<sup>25</sup> and letters belonging to the reign of his grandson Rana Bābū Śāh, roughly the last quarter of the 18th century, are well represented in *śikhā prakāśa*. Much 19th century prose, epistolary and legal, is known to exist. This may have little literary value, but it could be of great interest to the student of language. In the 19th century too are the beginnings of Nepālī poetry, including Bhānu Bhāṇa's *Rāmāyana*, a poem of quality which would also reward linguistic examination.

4.7 Of the Pāṇinī languages of Nepāl, only two, Newārī and Limbū, claim a literary tradition. The others have no script of their own, and there is no reason to believe that they ever had one. Even the claims on behalf of Limbū are tenuous. Two scholars, Ināraṣiṇha Cemjong and Premabādur Limbū,<sup>26</sup> have written short histories of the Limbū people, their literature and culture, in which mention is made of early compositions; but none of these are extant, except for a work called *Kirāt Mūndhūm*, which unfortunately is not dated. The text of *Kirāt Mūndhūm*, which has as

<sup>24</sup> T. W. Clark 'The Pāc śay vāya Inscription, Kāṭī', *BSOAS* vol. 20 (1957).

<sup>25</sup> B. K. Paudh, *Nepālī bhāṣā ra sēhitya* (Kathmandu, 1964); *Rājya bhāṣā* (Kathmandu, 1965).

<sup>26</sup> A number of editions have been printed in Nepāl, usually under the title *Pāc śay vāya*.

<sup>27</sup> Ināraṣiṇha Cemjong, *Kirāt Mūndhūm* (Kāṭī, 1962); Premabādur Limbū, *Śikhā prakāśa Nepālī* (Kāṭī, 1962).

its subtitle *Kirāt Kō Peda*, has been published in the devanagari script by Cemjong,<sup>28</sup> but no annotations, literary, historical or linguistic, are supplied. This work, so far as I could tell from the Nepālī translation which was published with it, consists of a creation story and a *ramāyana*. The only other Limbū materials, and those are probably of no great antiquity, are the papers collected by Hodgson and deposited in the India Office Library, and a few papers found by Cemjong and other scholars. Cemjong's documents are referred to briefly in the introduction to *Kirāt Mūndhūm*. In view of this extreme paucity of authentic texts a historical study of Limbū is not feasible.

4.8 There is no historical study of Newārī, but this is not due to shortage of textual material. There is indeed very much of it, epigraphic and manuscript, covering the period from the 14th to the 18th century. Kirkpatrick, Hamilton and Hodgson were the first scholars to comment on Newārī literature and language. They were followed by Conrady, Jorgensen and Lévi; and later by Peisch, Shafer and others. In our own day European and American scholars are working on Newārī, and it is hoped that in due time their work will be brought to publication. Hodgson and Conrady pointed out the affinities of Newārī, Tibetan and the 'Indo-Chinese' languages. 'Hodgson en a démontré', wrote Lévi, 'la parenté avec le tibétain, mais sans pousser les recherches à fond; derrière lui M. Conrady seul les a reprises, et avec succès. Il a publié une excellente étude sur la grammaire névârî et édité un petit vocabulaire sanscrit-névârî rapporté jadis par Minyefi. .... M. Conrady s'est surtout appliqué à mettre en relief les rapports du névârî avec l'ensemble des langues dites "indo-chinoises": chinois, tibétain, siamois, dialectes himalayens.' Lévi in the same chapter made an important statement on Newārī, which combines a tribute to the advanced condition of Newārī letters with a survey of the textual material available. 'Le névârî de la belle époque réalise un équilibre harmonieux entre les parler himalayens restés au stade primitif en raison de leur isolement, encore pauvres, grossiers, impuissants à traduire les pensées élevées et les notions abstraites, et les dialectes entièrement hindouisés à force d'emprunter aux langues aryennes de la plaine. Le névârî a développé son lexique par un travail interne, et s'il a dû emprunter aux langues indo-sanscrites, il a su assimiler ces emprunts et en tirer des forces nouvelles à son service. Il subsiste encore un assez grand nombre de commentaires sur les textes sanscrits bouddhiques ou même de traductions en névârî. A partir de la restauration Malla (XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle), le névârî s'introduit dans l'épigraphie et prend rapidement aux dépens du sanscrit une extension croissante.' The 'belle époque' however came to an end in 1768. 'La conquête gurkha, en renversant les dynasties névârî, a décrié la décadence du névârî. De génération en génération, la langue névârî recule et perd du terrain au profit du pārdhāyā, le parler des vainqueurs.' The two sources of Newārī material Lévi has drawn attention to are (a) epigraphic remains, and (b) commentaries on, and translations from, Sanskrit-Buddhist texts.

<sup>28</sup> Ināraṣiṇha Cemjong, *Kirāt Mūndhūm* (Kāṭī, 1962) (Campesino, Bham undated).

<sup>29</sup> S. Lévi, *Le Népal* 1.251-2 and in (Paris, 1905).

As Petech's researches have brought to light a number of old texts unknown to Lehi, and, very important for the linguist as well as for the historian, he has been able to date them. In his review of the reign of Jayasiddha Malla (1428-1480), he comments that 'the national language (i.e. Newari) was fostered and cherished; and this long reign marks the triumphal entrance of Newari in the field of Nepalese epigraphy, where Sanskrit had been till then dominant. Henceforward the inscriptions were mostly couched in Newari, except for the formal portions containing the praise to the gods and the titles of the ruling king'.<sup>22</sup> This was not, however, the beginning of Newari epigraphy; the rich epigraphy of the Mallas...practically starts with Jayasiddha Malla at the end of the 14th century and grows larger with the passing of time, till the end of the dynasty in 1768/9. The language is at first Sanskrit only, but the technical portions (land measurements etc.) tend more and more to be written in Newari. The script is old Newari and very early documents, mostly grants, on copper-plates (*carved plates*) on the stone inscriptions. For the 17th and 18th centuries the abundance of epigraphic material is simply bewildering. The three great cities of Nepal (Lumbini, Bhairahawa, and Kathmandu) were the early (Lumbini) group and the later (Malla) inscriptions there is a large and as yet unexplored gap. This is, however, not so void of epigraphic material, as it was believed to be in the times of Lehi. We have the inscription of Rudradewa and Bhavadewa of NS 132 (AD 912), that of Bhavadewa of NS 203 (1053), that of Mandara of NS 259 (1139), that of Abhayasiddha of NS 266 (1146), and the inscription of Jayasiddha of 492 (1372), which registers the great Malla epigraphy.<sup>23</sup> The Newari commentaries, referred to by Lehi are not reviewed by Petech, but he draws attention to another source of old Newari, the 'corrections' of Bessell which Petech divides into three sections. V, V<sup>2</sup> and V<sup>3</sup> at the end of V, with the first years of Jayasiddha Malla (1362-85) the language changes into old Newari, but the language is practically incomprehensible nowadays. The present is a historical and philological interest of the first magnitude, and its edition and translation is at present the foremost desideratum in the field of Nepal's history and possibly also of Newari linguistic studies.<sup>24</sup> Yet in the case of the inscriptions of material, the Newari script is not yet fully understood.

#### 2. LEXICOGRAPHY AND ORTHOGRAPHY

5.1 Newari can be said to have been in the world since the beginning of time. Turner's grammar was accompanied by a fairly large vocabulary, but it is not so. R. L. Turner with his monumental *Newari dictionary* who

- <sup>22</sup> L. Petech, *History of Nepal* (1950) 168 (Sri Lanka Oriental Series, 1950).
- <sup>23</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>24</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>25</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>26</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>27</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>28</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>29</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>30</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>31</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>32</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>33</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>34</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>35</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>36</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>37</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>38</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>39</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>40</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>41</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>42</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>43</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>44</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>45</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>46</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>47</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>48</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>49</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>50</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>51</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>52</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>53</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>54</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>55</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>56</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>57</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>58</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>59</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>60</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>61</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>62</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>63</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>64</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>65</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>66</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>67</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>68</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>69</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>70</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>71</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>72</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>73</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>74</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>75</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>76</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>77</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>78</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>79</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>80</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>81</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>82</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>83</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>84</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>85</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>86</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>87</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>88</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>89</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>90</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>91</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>92</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>93</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>94</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>95</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>96</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>97</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>98</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>99</sup> Lehi, p. 10.
- <sup>100</sup> Lehi, p. 10.

erected the supreme landmark in Nepali lexicography. The *Nepali dictionary* is primarily a Nepali-English lexicon. The Nepali words, printed in devanagari and roman, are accompanied by their equivalents in English and illustrated by citations from idiomatic usage. Turner's work is however more than this; it is also a comparative etymological and philological dictionary. Each Nepali entry is documented with a list of linguistically related words in other Indo-Aryan languages; and in the index there is a series of lists in which Nepali words are set side by side with related words in over 50 other languages. In the introduction, under the heading Orthography, Turner examines certain spelling problems which have arisen as a result of conflicts between the traditional implications of the devanagari script as inherited from Sanskrit and the linguistic idiosyncracies of modern Nepali. Two suggestions he advances are worthy of more attention than they have yet received: (a) the consistent employment of the sign *vizra*, or *holanta* as it is more commonly called in Nepal, to distinguish those consonants in which a vowel is inherent from those in which it is not; and (b) the elimination of the troublesome distinction between *i* and *j*, *u* and *yu*, on the grounds that, as there is in neither case a phonemic distinction of long and short, their preservation in the script is anachronistic. Turner has embodied these proposed reforms in his dictionary entries, but though both problems are still under debate in Nepal his suggestions have not yet commanded themselves to native lexicographers.

5.2 Teachers in the Gurkha Brigade have made their contributions to lexicography. The grammars of Rogers and Mercendone<sup>25</sup> are both supplied with Nepali-English and English-Nepali vocabularies, the Nepali words being printed in a form of roman. Mercendone's spelling is in the main based on Nepali orthography; but Rogers' is of his own devising, being neither entirely phonemic nor orthographic. The Japanese scholar Teruo Nakamura has published a Nepali-Japanese dictionary, *Suruko Nepali-Japani kōron*.<sup>26</sup> It contains 5,734 words, which are entered in a phonemic transcription. A Nepali-Russian dictionary is under preparation by N. I. Korolev of Moscow University.

5.3 The first Nepalese scholar to enter the field of lexicography was Chakrabarti Chelie, who published two small *kod*. Copies are now unobtainable. In 1931, Ramchandra Dhungana, working under the auspices of the Nepali Bhasa Prakasani Samiti, published a useful monolingual dictionary, of 724 pages, *Sankhyā Nepali Kod*.<sup>27</sup> The orthography, in which an attempt was made in the direction of a standardised spelling, was guided by the preferences of the grammarian and lexicographer Pajkar Samrat Jang Bahadur Rana, whose practice was in its turn influenced by the system of spelling formulated by Hemraj Panigrahi in his grammar *Candrika*. Dhungana does not discuss spelling problems, but the fairly high level of consistency in his preferred spellings suggests that he had a predetermined system. He retains both *i* and *j*, *u* and *yu*, and

- <sup>25</sup> G. O. Rogers, *Colloquial Nepali* (Calcutta, 1930), and M. Mercendone, *Basic Gurkha grammar and vocabulary* (Singapore undated).
- <sup>26</sup> Teruo Nakamura, *Suruko Nepali-Japani kōron* (Toei University, Nara, Japan, 1965).
- <sup>27</sup> Ramchandra Dhungana, *Sankhyā Nepali Kod*, Nepali Bhasa Prakasani Samiti (Kathmandu, 1931).











always equivalent is valid in this latter connection as it is in the case of simple consonant boundaries: e.g. *ga-re-re* 'having done', *ga-ro-ro* 'he did', verbal base *ga-* *da-li* 'from', *da-li-ya* 'he saw', verbal base *da-li-* *u-mi-ma* 'boil', verbal base *u-mi-* *ga-ro-ro* 'at home', nominal base *ghar*, *ti-mro* 'your', pronominal base *im-*. When it occurs interocally, syllable boundaries are difficult to demarcate, *ahle* 'now' is often misperceived, which suggests a two-syllable pronunciation. Yet the breathiness is not

altogether lost:  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{H} \\ \text{a-} \end{smallmatrix} \right] \left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{H} \\ \text{r-} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$ . Compare also *sihar* 'city' and *gahro* 'deep':  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{H} \\ \text{a-} \end{smallmatrix} \right] \left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{H} \\ \text{r-} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$ :  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{H} \\ \text{a-} \end{smallmatrix} \right] \left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{H} \\ \text{r-} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$ . The presence of nasals further complicates the problem of syllable boundaries: e.g. *sāhā* '3rd class', *phālo* 'yellow':  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{H} \\ \text{a-} \end{smallmatrix} \right] \left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{H} \\ \text{r-} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$ :  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{H} \\ \text{a-} \end{smallmatrix} \right] \left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{H} \\ \text{r-} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$ .

#### 7.4 Morphology

Though none of the grammars mentioned above were explicitly designed as studies of Nepali morphology, they contain in their various paired forms sufficient material to serve as a basis for a study of the morphological structure of the different categories of the Nepali word.

#### 7.5 Syntax

Koreha has included in his book a synopsis of certain features of Nepali syntax; but exigencies of space compelled him to keep his descriptive statements short and precluded him in most cases from giving more than one example. The sentence and phrase material in *Presentation to Nepali* contains many examples illustrative of a wide variety of syntactical features. These are commented on individually in the grammatical notes, and where considered necessary consolidated in fairly systematic descriptive notes. They embody such syntactical features as person, number and gender concord categories, verb + verb and verb + postposition compounds, and clause and sentence structures. Attention is also drawn to differences between spoken and written Nepali, and to the growing influence of Hindi on concord categories and sentence structures. It is a marked characteristic of the Nepali sentence that clause linking is effected by the use of infinitives and participles and seldom by conjunctions, which are more commonly employed for comparative functions in Hindi, and which under the influence of Hindi are slowly influencing the written language. Noun clauses, which in English are operated by *that*, adverbial clauses which are operated by

relative pronouns, etc., and adverbial clauses which are operated by the conjunctions *when*, *after*, *until*, *if*, *though*, *because*, *so that*, etc., are operated in Nepali by infinitives or participles, some with and some without inflectional and postpositional suffixes. In this respect Nepali syntax differs from the syntax of Hindi and other modern languages of north India, but it does resemble that of Newari. When Newari grammar has been adequately described, it is to be hoped that comparative Nepali-Newari studies will be undertaken.

#### 7.6 Grammar of the Pabhai languages

Little linguistic work has been written on the Pabhai languages. A grammar of Newari was published in 1951 by Puspaparna Sagar.<sup>14</sup> The hand-book on Thulung Rai by Agastasinga Devass Rai contains some paradigms; and some grammatical information can be extracted from Campjong's Limbu dictionary. R. Stafer has published two diachronistic and comparative studies on the 'Himalayish' dialects,<sup>15</sup> and J. Burdon-Page a short but important article on two features of Gurungkurn.<sup>16</sup>

##### (a) Newari

Puspaparna's Newari grammar, which is written in Newari, is intended for the instruction of Newari school children. Parts of it have some value for scholars for reference purposes, provided they can work in Newari. The phonology section is worthless. It is based on the assumption that, as the same script is used for both Sanskrit and Newari, the two languages share a common phonology, and that what is true for Sanskrit is true for Newari. No attempt has been made to study the sound system of Newari. Yet even the most casual listening has raised questions which must be answered before even an elementary phonological statement can be made. How valid for instance is the retention in the orthography of the *ṭ* and *ṭ* variants? The morphology section, though also based to a large extent on Sanskrit, is more helpful. Nouns and pronouns are paradigmatically analysed in the eight cases of Sanskrit, though it appears that there are only five forms which are formally distinct. The division of nouns into two notional categories, *pratyayāḥ* 'animate' and *apratyayāḥ* 'inanimate', is reasonable because it can be justified on morphological grounds. The analysis of the verb is interesting. It makes distinction of three tenses, present, past and future, and of two persons. There is no formal distinction of number. The verb is divided structurally into ten classes, the principle of differentiation being the *pratyayāḥ* 'suffix morpheme'. The *pratyayāḥ* are -*am*, -*le*, -*ye*, -*lepe*, -*le*, -*ṭāḥ*, -*ṭāḥ*, -*ṭāḥ* (?) — *ṭāḥ* or -*leṭāḥ* -*lepe*. There is some obvious overlapping in this classification, i.e. between

<sup>14</sup> Puspaparna Sagar, *Sobadhi Nepali Vyākaran* (Kathmandu 1951).

<sup>15</sup> R. Stafer, 'Classification of some languages of the Himalayas', *Journal of the Bihar Research Society* 36, 3-4 (1950), and 'The Himalayish', *ASOAS* 19, 2 (1953).

<sup>16</sup> J. Burdon-Page, 'Two Studies in Gurungkurn', I, Tong, II, Rhododendric and Rhododendric *ASOAS* 17, 1 (1953).



Comment is impossible, but I suspect that there is something wrong in the last example. *khāḍhera* is glossed as *young boy*, *ṛicāḍin* as *young girl*, whereas *nāḷgambhā* *boy* is glossed as *young man of marriageable age*, and *sāḷ geyambhā* as *young woman of marriageable age*. It may therefore be that the comparison is not between semantic equivalents. Still, not *ṛicāḍin* *here* *meaning* *be translated* *children*, on the model perhaps of *ṛicāḍin khāḍhera*, literally *young boy-young girl*, which definitely means *children*.

#### 8 TOWARDS STANDARDIZATION OF NEPALI

8.1 The debate on the reform of the Nepali language was joined shortly after the 1950 revolution, and it has attracted an increasing number of participants until today, when their number is legion and, as one scholar puts it, every new contributor has a new set of proposals.<sup>7</sup> The aspects of language which are under discussion are restricted almost entirely to vocabulary and spelling. There is no argument about grammar in spite of a number of recent innovations. It is significant also that the debate is concerned only with the Nepali language, even though many of the participants are mother-tongue speakers of one of the Pahari languages. The reason is not far to seek. Speakers of the various Pahari languages, including the Newari, have now accepted in principle the fact that Nepali is the national language. They know too that it is the language which they themselves must use in conversation with members of other tribes. There are indications that when any of the Pahari people move away from their native habitat they tend in time to lose their own language and adopt Nepali. The large Newari community in Darjeeling has Nepali as its mother-tongue, and none of them today speak or even understand Newari. Some of the earlier writers have already lost their ancestral language, and others appear likely to do so in the near future to come. This is not to say that Nepali will in the foreseeable future become a one-language state; but it is clear that Nepali is increasing at the expense of the Pahari languages. Its present primacy is incontestable and virtually uncontested.

#### 8.2 Vocabulary

In 1950, the Nepalese did not possess the words necessary to express the new concepts of the modern world with which they were so shortly to meet, and a vocabulary experiment was inevitable. Most of the new words are being borrowed or created from Sanskrit, but there is growing resentment against the amount of borrowing and the purposes to which some of the new loans are being applied. Pahari speakers particularly, and Newaris who have strong views on the subject, complain that Pahari vocabulary elements which have been in common use in Pahari for generations are now being quite unnecessarily eroded and replaced by Sanskrit words which are

unintelligible to any but the few scholars who are trying to introduce them. It is part of their case that when a Pahari word is in use in Nepali it should be preserved. They further argue that their languages are Nepalese languages, and that before a word is borrowed from Sanskrit, enquiry should be made to ascertain whether or not a suitable word exists in any of their languages. These arguments have found support among mother-tongue speakers of Nepali. Pujari Samser expressed the view that 'where vocabulary does not exist it may be necessary to borrow from Sanskrit, but before that is done we should look at Newari and the other Nepalese languages'.<sup>8</sup> He put forward the same claim for native Nepali words that Newari scholars are advancing for Newari. 'Where Nepali words exist they should be preserved'. He alleged in this connection that there was a growing tendency on the part of Sanskrit-educated Nepaleses to divide the Nepali vocabulary into 'polished' and 'unpolished' categories; and to despise native Nepali words as 'unpolished' and replace them by Sanskrit borrowings. He cited as examples the preference in some quarters for *julā* 'Sanskrit husband wife' as against *logne/ṛṇam* or *jolipai*, for *jirā* 'alive' as against *jinda*. Some of Pujari Samser's contentions have been taken up by the newly formed Purist (*gharobadhi*) movement, which numbers among its members many Kathmandu Nepalese and Nepalese residents in Banaras. The purpose of the Purists seems to be to campaign against excessive borrowing from Sanskrit and to repudiate the designation of Nepali words as *grāḍe* 'pertaining to a village'. An eminent writer has coined a slogan: *śāśṭi śāśṭi wāḍa; mudhūr mudhūr śāśṭi*, which may be translated 'short sentences and pronounceable words'.<sup>9</sup> It appears also that Sanskrit neologisms are being artificially constructed to replace English words which are current in ordinary Nepali speech: e.g. *nīḷhar lekhiḷ* for *photographer*, *poḷ* 'fountain pen', *viḷḷeyan* for *regatta* 'rally on train', *dhāḷakī* for *basket* 'basket'. One writer notes that an attempt is now being made to connect a Sanskritism for *jeep/diḷar*. This particular type of reform seems to be following the same lines as its counterpart in India, where too it met with a mixed reception. Hridayaandrasinha Pradishā comments somewhat caustically: 'If we manage to acquire somebody's inventions we should keep his name for it, if only as a sort of reward for the inventor'.<sup>10</sup> Pothare, who has written much on reformist movements, agrees: 'It is better to borrow the original name for a thing than to make one up artificially'.<sup>11</sup> Yet so far has the Sanskritization of the vocabulary of written Nepali advanced that Pujari Samser was provoked to exclaim that 'to read Nepali nowadays one needs a Sanskrit dictionary'!

#### 8.3 Spelling

The situation with regard to spelling reform is no less confused than that of vocabulary reform, but the participants are less activated by personal and communal

<sup>7</sup> Pujari Samser, 'Nepālī bhāṣā māḍa' [The new language of Nepal], *Bhāṣā* 5, 1, 23-34, 50-72.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. 'Pothare', *Nepālī bhāṣā māḍa* 38, 10, 83-84, 26.

<sup>9</sup> Hridayaandrasinha Pradishā, *Nepālī bhāṣā māḍa* 38, 10, 83-84, 26.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. (in 60).





old texts. The earliest grammars of Urdu were written by Europeans, including Dutch, Portuguese, English, French, German, and Italian scholars. They usually constitute an effort to present linguistic data pertaining to Urdu within the grammatical frameworks of their own languages. The first work on Urdu grammar, by an Indian writer, Inshā'īsh Khan, was written in 1802, under the title of *Daryā-e-Ladīqī*. It is, in fact, more than a grammar, in as much as it takes note of class as well as regional dialectal forms of Delhi Urdu. In writing this grammar, Inshā'īsh Khan established in Urdu the Perso-Arabic tradition of grammar-writing, which has continued, with modifications, till the present day. The most exhaustive, standard grammar of Urdu was written by Mahtabī Abdu'l Haq in the earlier part of the 20th century. Abdu'l Haq modified the Perso-Arabic grammatical tradition by introducing features from Hindi (Sanskrit tradition) and English grammar-writing. Then he did greater justice to the specific character of the language, which belongs to the Indo-Aryan stock.

The tradition of Urdu lexicography goes back to the early seventeenth century when for the first time versified lexica of Urdu appeared in order to fulfill the strong felt need of the children who were learning Persian along with their mother-tongue. The most famous name in this series is that of *As-siqāh al-hayā*,<sup>1</sup> English-Urdu and Urdu-

English dictionaries began to appear by the end of the 18th century. Among the

most important works on Urdu during the early part of the 19th century was done by the 'Lafz-e-Farīd' (Bureau of Oriental Literature), Hyderabad, which produced a series of Urdu-English and English-Urdu dictionaries. The most important work of this series is the *As-siqāh al-hayā*, which was produced by the 'Lafz-e-Farīd' (Bureau of Oriental Literature), Hyderabad, which produced a series of Urdu-English and English-Urdu dictionaries.

The series also the period in which the editing of manuscripts and textual criticism found in Hyderabad opening a new chapter in the history of Urdu literature. M. Q. Zore of Osmania University, who belonged to the first generation of Urdu scholars, produced a series of Urdu-English and English-Urdu dictionaries. The most important work of this series is the *As-siqāh al-hayā*, which was produced by the 'Lafz-e-Farīd' (Bureau of Oriental Literature), Hyderabad, which produced a series of Urdu-English and English-Urdu dictionaries.

The series also the period in which the editing of manuscripts and textual criticism found in Hyderabad opening a new chapter in the history of Urdu literature. M. Q. Zore of Osmania University, who belonged to the first generation of Urdu scholars, produced a series of Urdu-English and English-Urdu dictionaries. The most important work of this series is the *As-siqāh al-hayā*, which was produced by the 'Lafz-e-Farīd' (Bureau of Oriental Literature), Hyderabad, which produced a series of Urdu-English and English-Urdu dictionaries.

The series also the period in which the editing of manuscripts and textual criticism found in Hyderabad opening a new chapter in the history of Urdu literature. M. Q. Zore of Osmania University, who belonged to the first generation of Urdu scholars, produced a series of Urdu-English and English-Urdu dictionaries. The most important work of this series is the *As-siqāh al-hayā*, which was produced by the 'Lafz-e-Farīd' (Bureau of Oriental Literature), Hyderabad, which produced a series of Urdu-English and English-Urdu dictionaries.

Urdu, entitled *Shinshahī Anvarīyā*, in 1930. This is the period when controversy about the origin of Urdu came up and scholars like Mahmud Shorani<sup>2</sup> and T. Q. Bailey<sup>3</sup> put forward the idea that Urdu originated from Panjabi. M. Q. Zore<sup>4</sup> and S. K. Chatterji were of the opinion that Urdu is derived from the language spoken over a wide area, from Lahore to the banks of the river Ganges.

#### AFTER 1947

Linguistic studies in Urdu after 1947 could be divided into six broad fields:

- (i) Grammars of Urdu
- (ii) Histories of Urdu language
- (iii) Descriptive analysis of Urdu on phonetic and phonological levels.
- (iv) Lexicography.
- (v) Script reform.
- (vi) Editing of the old texts.

1. The only important grammar of Urdu written after 1947 is that of T. Grahame Bailey<sup>5</sup> which according to one of its editors, J. R. Firth, is a 'book based on material left by the late Dr. Grahame Bailey, the well-known Indianist, who died in 1942'. Among his posthumous papers there were at least two versions of what he intended should become a grammar and language course of Hindustani. The responsibility for editing the work rested with A. H. Hailey and J. R. Firth, who prefixed the book with his introduction on the spelling and pronunciation of Urdu. The preface incidentally contains the first significant analysis of Urdu phonemes, called sounds, by J. R. Firth. The script employed is IPA. In this book, Grahame Bailey makes important observations as far as the problems of declensions and cases are concerned. His treatment of the Urdu verb, the most intricate part of its grammar, is also significant and different from that of traditional grammarians. Bailey has also made some original remarks on the use of *ne* and repetition of words in Urdu.

2. Masud Husain Khan's *As-siqāh al-hayā* (Urdu-English) (Preface to the History of the Urdu language) first came out in 1948. The importance of his research work lies in the new perspective brought to the discussion of the origin of Urdu. In it the author successfully criticises the various theories about the origin of Urdu and tries to put down the dialects which played important roles in the development of this language. His main thesis is that Old Urdu was based on the Haryana dialect.

<sup>1</sup> *Panjab mein urdu* (Lahore, 1928).

<sup>2</sup> *Urdu-e-Hind* (The Heritage of India Series, London, 1932).

<sup>3</sup> *Urdu-e-Hind* (Hyderabad, 1932).

<sup>4</sup> *Urdu-e-Hind* (London, 1950); reprinted as *Urdu-e-Hind* (London, 1950).

<sup>5</sup> *Urdu-e-Hind* (Delhi, 1948), revised edition (Aligarh, 1958).

of Delhi, while Modern Urdu is standardized on the basis of another Delhi dialect, known as Kharī Boli.

This work was followed by another important book by Shaikat Sahawani, *Urdu zaban ke itiqad* [The development of Urdu], in 1955. Shaikat Sahawani's remarks on the origin of Urdu are listed in the cobweb of Middle Indo-Aryan linguistic history, since he goes back to Pali, instead of specifying the actual dialects of the New Indo-Aryan period.

Urdu linguistics scholarship had for a very long time been associated with the London School of Oriental and African Studies and the Sorbonne. At the School there was T. Grahame Bailey, "the most distinguished European scholar of Hindustani" and at the University of Paris the towering personality of the Indologist, Jules Christof. For 1947 the most inspiring figure in the field of Urdu linguistics was that of J. R. Firth who was deeply interested in the problems of Urdu phonology, in view of his long stay in India prior to occupying the Chair of Linguistics at the University of London. J. R. Firth, who had developed his own prosodic approach in describing the structure of a team of scholars from India was busy applying his theories to the study of their own languages during the later part of the forties. *A prosodic study of the word in Urdu* was published by Masud Hasan Khan in 1953, and remains the first attempt to analyze the prosodies of Urdu at the word level. This proved a step towards the London School while satisfying from a theoretical point of view, and not produce any tangible results in phonological analysis. Firth's definition of the notion of the prosody, while it is a cure of what Synchronicists had neglected, the phonetic elements, it neglects the "segments" under the general notion of "words and prosodies".

As far as Urdu scholarship in descriptive linguistics is concerned, the real activity in this field began in 1924, with the institution of Summer Schools of Linguistics at Rohtak and the areas of the Linguistic Society of India and with the financial support of the Government of India. The Summer Schools of Linguistics are since then a regular affair. Urdu scholars who participated in these schools as members or the language assistants, although few in number, for the first time began to acquire linguistic degrees by writing articles on the various phonological aspects of their languages. A. Q. Sarwari even compiled a text book, entitled *Zabān-e-Hindustani* (Rohtak, 1956) on general linguistics with special reference to Urdu. C. V. Srinivasan, Gopi Chandra Narsing and Gopi Chandra Narsing discussed in their various papers, the various phenomena of Urdu, especially the nature of the prosody in Urdu. Gopi Chandra Narsing has also published an important booklet on Urdu and its classification of Delhi Urdu. This interesting study of a class-dialect has got some currency in the schools who are grappling with the problem of the origin of Urdu, and it is a many language features of Old Urdu. A similar

study on a more systematic basis, but with the same limited data has been made by Bahadur Singh in his brochure, *The dialect of Delhi*.<sup>10</sup>

An important study of word phonology of Hindi-Urdu has been made by Ashok K. Khatkar in his *Studies in Hindi-Urdu I. introduction and word phonology*.<sup>11</sup> The writer, although not a native speaker of either Hindi or Urdu, gives a brilliant analysis of certain phonological features of these languages. He may, however, be questioned on his data, which is sometimes not very authentic.

Some very significant work in descriptive analysis of Urdu has been done by a young scholar of Urdu, A. Azim, under the able guidance of well-known teachers of linguistics, such as Professors M. R. Haas, E. C. Girma and U. Weinreich. Some of his important papers, although still unpublished, are worth mentioning. — (i) "Approach to Hindustani phonology: European and American" (ii) "Urdu phonemes in Jakobsenian features".<sup>12</sup>

In his first paper he tries to contrast the prosodic approach to phonology, as theorized by J. R. Firth of London University, with that of phonetic analysis of Hindi-Urdu made by various Indian and American scholars. The contrast brings out clearly the merits and demerits of the prosodic approach.

Linguistic activity in Pakistan is mainly centered around the Linguistic Research Group of Pakistan which has published two volumes of *Pakistani Linguistics* (Lahore, 1962 and 1963). The first volume contains such important articles as, "The common structural basis of Urdu and Punjabi" by Hamid Ahmad Khan and "A study of Urdu noun phrase types" by Anwar S. D.I. The second volume besides containing such important papers as Alta Dui's "A comparative study of noun phrases in Bengali and Urdu" also includes, "A directory of Pakistani linguists and language scholars".<sup>13</sup>

Another important work on Urdu verbs has been done by Sonia Chernikova,<sup>14</sup> a Russian scholar. Her treatment of Urdu verbal forms as widespread classes, although discussed with linguistic insight, does not show much awareness of what present day linguistics has achieved in the U.S.A. and elsewhere. A grammar of Dakhani Urdu (under the misplaced title of *Dakhani Hindi-Ka udgan aur vikas*) [The origin and development of Dakhani Hindi] (Allahabad, 1964) has recently been published by Shri Ram Sharma. It is the first book of its kind based on the vast literary data of Old Urdu produced in the Deccan from 15th to 18th century. It is a historical grammar with a newly oriented description of the phonemes of Written Dakhani Urdu.

4. Recently some important work has been done in Urdu lexicography as well.

Jafar Ali Khan "Asar" has brought forth his one volume dictionary *Fairang-e-Asar*

<sup>10</sup> South Asian studies 3 (New Delhi, 1960)

<sup>11</sup> Deccan College (Pune), 1963

<sup>12</sup> Copies of these papers are available from the author who is at present an Assistant in the Dept. of Middle East Languages and Cultures, Columbia University

<sup>13</sup> For further information on Urdu studies in Pakistan, see the chapter by Anwar S. D.I. in this volume (Ed.)

<sup>14</sup> Miss Sonia Chernikova wrote her thesis directly in Urdu during her stay in India in 1965. Since her thesis has been awarded the Ph.D. degree by the University of Moscow. The thesis is in Russian. Miss Chernikova is at present lecturer in Urdu at the University of Tashkent, U.S.S.R.

<sup>15</sup> J. R. Firth, *The structure of language*, Oxford (Penguin), 1957.  
<sup>16</sup> *Journal of Linguistics*, 3 (Cambridge, 1967), 21.  
<sup>17</sup> *Journal of Linguistics*, 7 (Cambridge, 1971).

ments of Oxford and University, Hyderabad, and of Delhi University are very active on this front with their valuable research journals *Qadim Urdu*<sup>10</sup> and *Urdu-e-Mushaf* respectively. While a special number of *Urdu-e-Mushaf* (Delhi, 1962) has been devoted to articles on Urdu linguistics, five manuscripts have been published in the first volume of *Qadim Urdu*.

Two Urdu scholars, Malik Ram and M. Ahmad, have joined in editing an early eighteenth century Urdu manuscript *Karbal Karah* (Patna, 1965) by Fazl, the only manuscript of which was lying neglected in the Tübingen University Library in West Germany. *Karbal Karah* is a specimen of earliest Urdu prose in Northern India and a rich source of Old Urdu for the linguistic scholars. Another important manuscript of the same period *Qissa-e-Mahrajn-o-dihar* by Isai Khan Bahadur, has recently been edited by Masud Husain Khan (Hyderabad, 1966). It is a long story in the colloquial language of the period and, therefore, contains a large amount of interesting linguistic material. The two books together contain very rich material for the student of the history of the Urdu language. They, in fact, fill an important gap in that history. They also testify to the theory about the origin of Urdu and its continuity in the alien linguistic environment in the Deccan during the 15th and 16th centuries. As soon as the Urdu manuscripts of that time in the North are unearthed it will come to light that Dakhani Urdu, far from being a corrupt form of Urdu, is the same language which was spoken in the Delhi area during the 14th and 15th centuries. Transplanted in the far South (Deccan) it became stable, while it grew into its new form in Northern India during the succeeding centuries.

#### CONCLUDING REMARKS

We may conclude by saying that the main areas which have interested the Urdu scholars are lexicography, grammar-writing, and textual criticism. Descriptive analysis is of recent growth. The first phonetic analysis of Dakhani Urdu was attempted by M. Q. Zore in 1930. Real interest in descriptive linguistics began after the institution of Summer Schools of Linguistics in 1954. Even today achievement in descriptive analysis is insignificant and piecemeal. The historical aspect of linguistic studies in Urdu is also unsatisfactory, due to the lack of Sanskritist scholarship among its researchers. Most of the histories of the Urdu language are based on the material published by the scholars of Indo-Aryan. There is no chair or institute of linguistics devoting itself to Urdu studies. Linguistic studies, as far as Urdu is concerned, are attached to Urdu Departments of the various universities in India and Pakistan, usually headed by literary biased scholars. Under these circumstances they have difficulty in doing justice to either linguistics or literature.

<sup>10</sup> Ed. Masud Husain Khan (Hyderabad 1965); one manuscript *Bihar Karah* by Afzal goes back to the early 16th century and is the oldest Urdu poem of Northern India.  
<sup>11</sup> There are some significant articles in this volume such as *Urdu mushaf ke Lijla* (An outline of Urdu phonetics) and *Urdu ki thikay* (Origin of Urdu).

(Lucknow, 1961), which is mentioned on the well-known Urdu

dictionary, edited *Al-Muhtashim-ul-Urdu* (Lucknow, 1958). While this dictionary has been planned in a big way, it is one man's attempt with a very narrow outlook on Urdu.

The present volume of *Urdu-e-Mushaf* is a part of a series of volumes on the Urdu language, who happens to belong to a family with a rich literary heritage.

The present volume of *Urdu-e-Mushaf* has been undertaken by the Translative-Urdu Board of Pakistan, a government-sponsored body. The Board is attempting to compile a great dictionary on the pattern of the great Oxford dictionary of the English language. The work is still in its initial stage of word collection from English sources. The quarterly journal of the Board, *Urdu Adab*, regularly publishes specimens of this dictionary. It also contains interesting articles on the problems of the etymology of Urdu words.

Urdu script has always been a special problem for its scholars. It is in fact an extension of the Perso-Arabic script for the purpose of writing an Indo-Aryan language. Naturally it has undergone many changes during the process on the one hand, and on the other hand, due to the prestige of the Arabic language, it has remained

the same as four letters for a single phoneme. Since the Urdu script is so old, it has many problems which are not solved yet.

Urdu script has been employed initially, mediately, or finally it also presents many difficulties for typing and printing. Even before 1947 under the able guidance and inspiration of Mirza Asad Ali Khan, scholars like Abdus Sattar Siddiqi, Pandit Dattatraya Kulkarni, and Mirza Asad Ali Khan were busy with their pen-and-ink for reforming the Urdu script. In 1956, Sherwani thoroughly discusses the proposals put forward by Mirza Asad Ali Khan on the subject, *Urdu script: a critical study* (Lucknow, 1956). In 1956, Sherwani thoroughly discusses the proposals put forward by Mirza Asad Ali Khan on the subject, *Urdu script: a critical study* (Lucknow, 1956). In 1956, Sherwani thoroughly discusses the proposals put forward by Mirza Asad Ali Khan on the subject, *Urdu script: a critical study* (Lucknow, 1956).

While the debate is going on, no practical step has been taken either in India or Pakistan to bring forth a reformed script or to employ Roman letter writing Urdu. Even now, the Urdu script is still in use, and it is still in use.

There is a recent growing interest among the Urdu scholars in textual criticism of the Old Urdu texts. Since a large number of Urdu manuscripts are still in the hands of private collectors, it has been felt that they should be brought to light before any further damage is done to them.



## 2. THE DARDIC GROUP OF LANGUAGES

In the available literature the term Dardic has been used for the inhabitants of the area which is now called Dardistān [the place of the *Dards*] (see Grierson, 1919, p. 1 ff.). The term Dard has a long history and is found in the *Purāṇas* and also in Kalhana's *Rājataranginī* (Grierson, 1919). In Sanskrit it means 'mountain' and was perhaps used because most of the Dardic area is mountainous.

In his *LSI*, and in other works, too, Grierson uses the term Piśācha languages for the so-called Dardic group (Grierson, 1919). He argues that Piśācha was the cover-term used earlier in Sanskrit to refer to these languages. At the same time, he says, he is conscious of the fact that

some of the speakers of these languages take exception to it on the grounds that, in Indian mythology, the word 'Piśācha' was also used to connote a cannibal demon, and it must be admitted that this was the most common acceptation of the word. In such circumstances, it is useful to explain that a tribe speaking a Piśācha language is not necessarily of Piśācha descent (Grierson, 1919).

In the Dardic family three language groups are traditionally included: Kāfir-group, Khowār group, and Dard-group.<sup>2</sup> These three groups are further classified as follows.<sup>3</sup>

A. Kāfir-group<sup>4</sup>

(1) Bashgali (Kali);<sup>5</sup> (2) Wai-ala (Wai);<sup>6</sup> (3) Wasi-veri (Veron);<sup>7</sup> (4) Ashkund;<sup>8</sup> (5) Kalāsha-Pasha;<sup>9</sup> (6) Gowār-bati (Narsāti);<sup>10</sup> (7) Pashai (Laghmānī, Deghānī);<sup>11</sup> (8)

<sup>2</sup> A survey of the Dardic languages is given, among others, in the following works: Barth and Morgenstierne (1958), "The Dardic branch or sub-branch of Indo-European", *AnL* 7: 8, 284-294 (1958), Edelman (1965), Grierson (1929), Leitner (1877), G. Morgenstierne (1953), Turner (1927), and Trumpp (1872). Note that Grierson's work, though full of useful data, is outdated now. Morgenstierne's work is much more recent but leaves much to be desired. Edelman (1965) is essentially a summary of Grierson and other earlier scholars.

<sup>3</sup> Only this classification has been maintained since the earlier work of Grierson. See Grierson (1919). It is not possible to give the exact number of the speakers of all these three groups, as political and other reasons have made it difficult to obtain any reliable figures.

<sup>4</sup> Burnes (1838), Morgenstierne (1945a, 1953), and Trumpp (1862, 1868).

<sup>5</sup> Davidson (1902), Viator Indicus (1903), Konow (1911, 1913), and Leitner (1880).

<sup>6</sup> See Grierson, (1919, pp. 45-58).

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* 59-67.

<sup>8</sup> Morgenstierne (1929, 1934a).

<sup>9</sup> See Leitner (1880) and Hamp (1966). Hamp's paper is a structural restatement of Morgenstierne (1954).

<sup>10</sup> Morgenstierne (1950, 1945b).

<sup>11</sup> Grierson (1900a), see also Morgenstierne (1944). Note that Pashai is divided into "a large number of mutually incomprehensible dialects, namely Gulbahar, Chilas, Aret, Wegal, Durrat Nur, Laurowan." Morgenstierne claims that "... in spite of all dialectal differences ... Pashai is decidedly one language, well defined through phonetical, and especially through morphological and lexical peculiarities" (cf. Morgenstierne, 1932) see also *AnL* 7: 8 (1965).

Bashkarik;<sup>12</sup> (9) Tirahi;<sup>13</sup> (10) Prasun;<sup>14</sup> (11) Gujuri;<sup>15</sup> (12) Waigali;<sup>16</sup> and (13) Zhonjigali.<sup>17</sup>

B. Khōwār-group<sup>18</sup>

(1) Chitrali, (2) Chatrāri,<sup>19</sup> and (3) Arniyā.

C. Dard-group

(1) Shiqā;<sup>20</sup> (2) Kashmiri;<sup>21</sup> and (3) Kohistānī (Grierson, 1919, pp. 507 ff.).

The following are considered the dialects of these three languages:

- (1) Shiqā: Brokpa, Chilāsī, Gilgiti, Shiqā;
- (2) Kashmiri: Bunjwālī, Kashmiri, Kishṭwāri, Pogulī, Sirāji-Kashmiri;
- (3) Kohistānī: Kaghni, Kohistānī;

The current state of research on the Dardic languages is such that it is not possible to use any sophisticated or rigorous criteria for separating the languages and/or dialects in this family. We do not have reliable figures even about the number of speakers of these languages. What is worse, in the available studies, there is no uniformity about the number and names of languages which are included under the Dardic group. It can, however, safely be said that G. A. Grierson's and G. Morgenstierne's works continue to be the only available analyses of the Dardic group.

The question of the final affiliation of the Dardic family of languages has not yet been answered. In earlier as also in current literature we find that arguments have been presented for the following views without much authentic linguistic evidence in support of any of these views. The earlier view, held by Grierson and others, considered the Dardic languages as a third member of the Indo-Iranian branch of Indo-European (Grierson, 1919, pp. 1-10). Another view is held by Morgenstierne who thinks that the Dardic languages are clearly Indo-Aryan, but is somewhat less decided about the Kafir languages. Morgenstierne, commenting on Grierson's view, argues (Morgenstierne, 1947b):

According to Sir George Grierson's well-known theory the Dardic languages, among which he includes also the Kafir group, form a special branch of Indo-Iranian. And he considers Khaw. [Khowar] as occupying an independent position within Dardic: "The Kafir and Dard (= Eastern Dardic) groups are much more nearly related to each other than either is to Khōwār. On the other hand Khōwār shows traces of connection with the Ghalchah languages (= Iranian Pamir languages) spoken north of Pamirs which are wanting in the

<sup>12</sup> Morgenstierne (1940c).

<sup>13</sup> Grierson (1925) and Morgenstierne (1934b).

<sup>14</sup> Buddruss (1960b) and Morgenstierne (1949).

<sup>15</sup> This is spoken in a small area in Chitral.

<sup>16</sup> Morgenstierne (1954b).

<sup>17</sup> This is spoken in the village of this name.

<sup>18</sup> Morgenstierne (1947b, 1957), O'Brien (1895).

<sup>19</sup> J. Davidson (1900), Morgenstierne (1940a, 1940b), and Tumanovich (1908).

<sup>20</sup> Bailey (1924), Berger (1966), Lorimer (1924a, 1924b), Namus (1962), Wilson (1899); also see the section on the Dard Group of Languages in Grierson (1919, pp. 149 ff.).

<sup>21</sup> For bibliographical references on Kashmiri cf. "Select bibliography" at the end of this paper.

other two groups. It thus resembles a somewhat alien wedge inserted between the other two groups and thrusting them apart, coming into the country subsequently to the other two and after it had developed some of the Qhachah characteristics" ... I am unable to share these views. The Dardic languages, in contradistinction to the true Kafir group, are of pure IA origin and go back to a form of speech closely resembling Vedic. This state of affairs cannot be altered by the fact that Dardic has preserved many archaisms lost in later IA languages, nor by the wide spread loss of aspiration.

Emeneau summed up the discussion as follows --

It was claimed by Grierson (as well as by some before him) that these two groups of languages [Dardic and Kafir] form a third branch of Indo-Iranian, in that 'they seem to have left the parent stem after the Indo-Aryan languages, but before all the typical Iranian characteristics, which we meet in the Avesta, had become developed'. The material which was gathered by Morgenstierne after Grierson's volume appeared, led Morgenstierne to the conclusion (which has been accepted by, e.g., Jules Bloch and Burrow) that the Dardic languages (Kashmiri, Shina, Indus Kohistani, Khowar, Kalasha, Pashai, Tirahi) are Indo-Aryan, but did not pass through the MIA developments represented by the records, while, on the other hand, the Kafir languages (Kati, Waigali, Ashkun, Prasun, and to some extent Danieli) may occupy some sort of special position. The task of sorting out the evidence is considerably complicated by loanwords in the Kafir languages from neighboring Iranian languages and from other neighboring Indo-Aryan languages, and also by loans in the other directions, i.e., from the Kafir languages into neighboring Iranian and Indo-Aryan languages.

In further detailed discussion of points of evidence adduced by Morgenstierne he was inclined to agree that the Kafir languages retain some archaic features of (perhaps) proto-Indo-Iranian. Namus (1962) treats the Dardic group as one of three branches of the Indo-Iranian family — the other two being Iranian and Indo-Aryan.

The Dard group is in between the Perso-Aryan and Indo-Aryan groups in its stock of words and phrases. It is a smaller group compared to the other two but possesses its own peculiarities.

The recent Census of India (1961)<sup>22</sup> provides some information about the speakers of the Dardic languages in general though it is restricted to those which are spoken in the Indian territory (see the Table below).

TABLE SHOWING THE DARDIC SPEAKERS ON THE INDIAN TERRITORY

<i>Name of the language (or group)</i>	<i>Number of Speakers</i>
Kāfir group	1
Khōwār group	3
Shinā	856
Brokpa	544
Chilāsī	82

<sup>22</sup> Murray B. Emeneau in Burbaum and Puhvel eds., *Ancient Indo-European dialects* 136-137 (University of California Press, 1964).

<sup>23</sup> Cf. *The census of India, 1961* (Delhi, 1964), pp. cxi and ccm. Note that the Census Report makes it clear that "...the Kafir and Khowar groups of speakers have their main concentration outside the Indian territory..." *Ibid.*

Gilgiti	76
Kashmiri	1,914,446
Sirāji	19,978
Bunjwali	550

The Census report is full of statements of the following type: "Kashtwari is a variety of Kashmiri spoken mainly in the Kishtwar Area" (p. ceni). "Poguli is another variety of Kashmiri spoken in the Jammu area" (p. ccii). "Bunjwali was returned by 550 speakers from the Doda district of Jammu and Kashmir. The language on inquiry was found to be a variety of Kashmiri. So it was tentatively classified as Kashmiri" (p. cciii). The basis for considering a language as a variety of some other language is not made clear and appears to be very arbitrary. By and large, the Census has followed the earlier classification of Grierson.

It is not only the question of the affinity of the Dardic group of languages on which meagre research is available, but also the linguistic structure of these languages has not as yet been satisfactorily worked out.

The following studies concentrate on the Dardic languages in general as opposed to any specific language. Edelman's (1965) analysis is essentially based on earlier sources, particularly those of Grierson and Morgenstierne. Turner (1927) is concerned with some historical questions (especially that of the "intervocalic dentals in Shinā and Kalāsha"). These questions were earlier raised by Morgenstierne (1926). The origins and etymologies of selected Dardic words have been the topic of quite a few papers. Morgenstierne (1951b) gives "a few examples from the so-called Dardic and Kafir languages ..." as "they are of special interest because they have retained many archaic words and forms which have been lost elsewhere in 1A". Another paper on the Dardic group, also by Morgenstierne (1947a), is concerned with the "Metathesis of liquids in Dardic". In it he examines the data for (1) Metathesis of an ante-consonantic *r* and (2) Metathesis of postconsonantic *r*. The languages considered are: Kashmiri, Shinā, Dumākī, Maiyā, Bashkarik, Torwali, Tiruhi, Khōwār, Kalāsha, Phalūra, Dameli, Gowardati, Shumashti, Pashai (with many dialects), and the Kafir languages Kati, Waigali, Ashkun and Prasun.

A comparative analysis of the sound system of Dardic languages has been attempted in the "Languages of the world: Indo-European fascicle one" (*AnL* 7:8). The analysis is based on those studies of the Dardic languages which are already available.

### 3. KASHMIRI AND THE DARDIC FAMILY

The position of Kashmiri in the Dardic family — and its origin — continues to be discussed and no conclusive answer has yet been given. The question was originally raised by Grierson (1915) who claimed that linguistically Kashmiri holds a peculiar position as it has some formal features which show its Dardic characteristics and many other features which it shares with the Indo-Aryan languages such as Punjabi, Hindi,

Gujarati, etc. Chatterji (1963, p. 256) has made the following observation on this question:

As a language, Kashmiri, at least in its basic stratum, belongs to the Dardic section of Aryan languages. Possibly one section of the Aryans who came to India before 1000 B.C. and who spoke dialects very much like the language of the *Rg-Veda* but with certain special characteristics (which later gave rise to the Dardic branch of Aryan) became established in the Valley of Kashmir, and in the surrounding mountainous tracts, and very early, possibly from after the Vedic Age, Brahmanical Aryans with their Indo-Aryan 'spoken' Sanskrit (and subsequently with the Prakrits) came and settled in Kashmir and other Himalayan regions. In this way, Kashmir, in spite of a Dardic substratum in its people and its speech, became a part of the Sanskritic culture-world of India. The Indo-Aryan Prakrits and Apabhraṃśa from the Midland and from Northern Punjab profoundly modified the Dardic bases in Kashmir, so that one might say that the Kashmiri language is a result of a very large over-laying of a Dardic base with Indo-Aryan elements.

But the question still remains: What is the linguistic evidence for the "over-laying" of these elements? There has been no significant research which would answer this question.

Grierson (1915) presents his views against the following remarks which had appeared in the *Kashmir census report for 1911* (reference in Grierson, 1915):

Kashmiri used to be hitherto treated as of Sanskritic origin. It has this time been grouped with Shina-Khōwār according to the revised system of classification, but the claim locally held that it is essentially a Sanskritic language persists, and in view of the historical fact that the Valley of Kashmir, before its conversion to Islam, was wholly populated by Brahmans with their *shastric* lore, that claim might merit reconsideration.

It is against this plea for "reconsideration" of the "Sanskritic origin" of Kashmiri that Grierson presents some data, so that "questions of sentiment, however much we may sympathize with them, must be put altogether to one side in dealing with a purely scientific question". Grierson takes the position that:

the Pisācha languages, which include the Shina-Khōwār group, occupy a position intermediate between the Sanskritic languages of India proper and the Eranian languages farther to the west. They thus possess many features that are common to them and to the Sanskritic languages. But they also possess features peculiar to themselves, and others in which they agree rather with languages of the Eranian family. That language [Kashmiri] possesses nearly all the features that are peculiar to Pisācha, and also those in which Pisācha agrees with Eranian.

The main points which, according to Grierson (see Grierson, 1915) mark Kashmiri as separate from the Indo-Aryan languages are given below. This is based on how the nouns of Sanskritic stock function in Kashmiri, and how, in this respect, it differs from the other languages of the sub-continent.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Note that a large number of these features are shared by Kashmiri with the Pisācha languages. Grierson (1915, p. 262) also shows how, like other Pisācha languages, Kashmiri "often shows changes peculiar to Eranian, especially East Eranian, languages, and which are not found, or are rare in India". For a discussion of the Pisācha languages see the following studies: Grierson (1906, 1912, 1919), Konow (1910).

- (1) Lack of voiced aspirates in Kashmiri;
- (2) "confusion between cerebral and dental letters" (Grierson, 1915, p. 259);
- (3) "consonantal epenthesis, i.e., the change in a consonant under the influence of the following vowel or semi-vowel" (Grierson, 1915, p. 259);
- (4) aspiration of stops in final position;
- (5) no vowel change or gemination of Prakrit borrowing in Kashmiri;
- (6) in the environment V-| V, *r* is not dropped;
- (7) /n/ is "liable to elision";
- (8) /r/ preceding another consonant is not dropped;
- (9) *a* as an indefinite marker;
- (10) the presence of a large number of post-positions in Kashmiri which are peculiar to Piśācha;
- (11) numeral system is typically Piśācha;
- (12) threefold distinction of demonstrative pronouns in Kashmiri;
- (13) three term system for the past tense;
- (14) different word order.

On the claim that lexically Kashmiri has a significant number of Sanskrit items, and therefore is of Sanskritic origin, Grierson (1915, p. 267) rightly argues:

Finally we come to the question of vocabulary. It is on this that the claim that Kāshmiri is a Sanskritic language is most strongly based, and, if languages were classed according to vocabulary, the claim would be difficult to controvert. But it is well known that vocabulary cannot be used as a basis of linguistic classification.... But, nevertheless, some of the commonest words, — words that are retained longest in any language, however mixed, and that are seldom borrowed, such as the earlier numerals, or the words for 'father', 'mother', and the like, — are closely allied to the corresponding Shīnā words, and are therefore of Piśācha origin....

This evidence leads Grierson (1915, p. 270) to the following conclusion:

Kāshmiri is a mixed language, having as its basis a language of the Dard group of the Piśācha family allied to Shīnā. It has been powerfully influenced by Indian culture and literature, and the greater part of its vocabulary is now of Indian origin and is allied to that of the Sanskritic Indo-Aryan languages of northern India. As, however, its basis, — in other words, its phonetic system, its accent, its syntax, its prosody, — is Piśācha, it must be classed as such, and not as a Sanskritic form of speech.

There is still great need of typological and comparative research on Kashmiri with the Indo-Aryan languages and with the Dardic languages so that the question of the affinity of Kashmiri can be answered.

### 3.1. *Dialects of Kashmiri*

In recent years there has been no serious fieldwork for dialect research on Kashmiri. Grierson's tentative analysis continues to form the basis for dialect classification.

His statements about the dialects of Kashmiri are so vague that no special value can be attached to them.<sup>25</sup> The present dialect division of Kashmiri comprises two types of grouping, i.e. (a) those dialects which are AREA-DEFINED; and (b) those dialects which are defined in terms of the users.

### 3.1.1. Area-defined dialects

*Census of India, 1961* lists the following as the area-defined dialects of Kashmiri:<sup>26</sup>

Bunjwālī (550); Kāsh(wā)ri (11,633); Pogulī (9,508);  
Shirāji-Kashmirī (19,978); Kāghānī (152); Kohistānī (81).

This listing is slightly different from that of Grierson. He claims that Kashmiri has "only one true dialect — Kāsh(wā)ri" and "a number of mixed dialects such as Pogulī, Sirāji of Dōda and Rāmbanī". Farther east, over the greater part of the Kishtwār District of the State, there are more of these mixed dialects, about which nothing certain is known, except that the mixture is rather between Kashmiri and the Chibhālī form of Lahndā" (Grierson, 1919, p. 233).

It is possible that further dialect research will show that, in addition to the differences of village speech and the so-called religious differences, Kāsh(wā)ri is perhaps the only dialect of Kashmiri. The other so-called dialects are only partially influenced by Kashmiri. These dialects are spoken in the transition zones and thus naturally show some superficial influence of Kashmiri. One might be able to show that these dialects have been equally influenced by Punjabi and its dialects and other neighboring languages. The dialects defined in terms of the users are two, i.e., Hindu Kashmiri and Muslim Kashmiri.<sup>27</sup> This distinction continues to be followed in current literature, perhaps without much structural justification (see 3.1.2).

### 3.1.2. Religious dialects

It has been argued (Kachru, forthcoming and mimeographed) that the differences at the phonological level, which are based on the religion of the speech community, may be explained in terms of distribution and frequency of certain phonemes. The other differences are essentially lexical and in some cases morphological. Lexically, Hindu Kashmiri (HK) has borrowed from Sanskrit, and Muslim Kashmiri (MK) from Persian and Arabic.

The religion-based difference is not evident in certain literary forms and specialized

<sup>25</sup> Note, for instance, the following: "It [Sirāji] might, with almost equal correctness, be classed as a dialect of Kashmiri or as a dialect of Western Pāhārī, but I have put it in the former class, because it possesses certain typical Dardic characteristics which don't belong to the latter". (Grierson, 1919, p. 433)

<sup>26</sup> Again: "In fact Rāmbanī can very fairly be described as a mixture of Sirāji and Dogrī. It still possesses enough Kashmiri peculiarities to entitle it to be classed as a dialect of that language". (Grierson, 1919, p. 458).

<sup>27</sup> Cf. *Census of India, 1961* 1-2-C(ii) "Language tables" (Delhi, 1964), p. cccxxiv.

<sup>28</sup> The distinction between *Hindu Kashmiri* and *Muslim Kashmiri* is a traditional one and is maintained by Grierson, and also by later scholars such as Zinda Kaul 'Masterji' and S. K. Toshkhān.

registers<sup>28</sup> (e.g. legal register, official register). In such literary forms and/or registers a type of Kashmiri has developed which cuts across religious boundaries. A special characteristic of such registers is a large number of Persian and/or Arabic loans. In Srinagar Kashmiri the two so-called dialects are also marked by their difference in intonation and rhythm. It is possible that further research may show that there is no significant variation — other than lexical — in the language as used by the two religious communities in the villages.

Notice the following "religion marking" features of the two dialects.

1. *Pronunciation variation.* The following list gives the pronunciation variations of HK and MK. The two communities, however, appear to share the same over-all phonological system. Note however that in MK as spoken in parts of Srinagar, [ɾ] alternates with [r].<sup>29</sup> Again, this feature is shared by both the communities in village Kashmiri (e.g., HK: *gur* 'horse'; *yo:r* 'here'; *ho:r* 'there', MK: *guɾ*, *yo:ɾ*, *ho:ɾ*).

(a) *Vowels:*

(i) central vowel → front vowel (e.g. HK: *rikk* 'a line'; *ɾikk* 'run'; *khun* 'nasal mucus'; MK: *rikh*, *ɾikh*, *khin*); (ii) High central vowel → low central vowel (e.g., HK: *gā:ɬ* 'an eagle'; *dāh* 'ten'; *kāhvi* 'tea'; MK: *gā:ɬ*, *dah*, *kahvi*); (iii) central vowel → back vowel (e.g. HK: *mā:ɟ* 'mother'; MK: *mō:ɟ*); (iv) initial back vowel → central vowel (e.g. HK: *o:lav* 'potatoes'; MK: *a:lav*).

(b) *Consonants:*

(1) *v* → *ph* (e.g. HK: *kho:(h)vur* 'left'; *ho:(h)vur* 'wife's parents' home'; MK: *kho:phur*, *ho:phur*).

2. *Lexical variation:* Lexical variation is determined by the sources of lexical items. A number of registers (e.g., legal, business) with very high frequency of Arabic and/or Persian items are shared by both the communities. Note, however, the following differences:

HK: *kru:d* 'anger'; *gandun* 'betrothal'; *kho:s* 'cup'; *thu:l* 'dish'; *pən* 'a good deed'; *ɟəfi:r* 'hubble bubble'; *n'em* 'meat'; *sərig* 'paradise'; *darim* 'religion'; *muhra:* 'sir'; *pu:ph* 'sin'; *madre:r* 'sugar'; *siri:* 'sun'; *havuh* 'wind'; MK: *gast*, *nišə:n*<sup>1</sup>, *p'a:li*, *trə:m*<sup>1</sup>, *sava:b*, *həki*, *na:ɟi*, (or *ma:z*), *janath*, *di:n*, *haz*, *gonah*, *khand*, *akhta:b*, *va:v*).

3. *Morphological variation.* Morphological variations are of two types. First, those which differ in their source. That is, some morphemes of Arabic and Persian are more frequent in MK than in HK and, on the other hand, a large number of morphemes from Sanskrit are used only by HK speakers. Second, those which show the presence, in one community, of a morpheme which is disappearing (or has disappeared) in the speech of the other community. Note, for example, that in MK

<sup>28</sup> Cf. M. A. K. Halliday et. al., *The linguistic sciences and language teaching* 77 (London, 1964).

<sup>29</sup> Only in final position. Note also the following observation of Morgenstierne (1941): "An important feature of Kshn. [Kashmiri] phonology is the aspiration of final tenues, especially, but not exclusively, in the pronunciation of Hindus".

*hargah* has been preserved as a conjunction, but in HK it is fast disappearing — at least in Srinagar HK.

### 3.2. *Phonetics and Phonology*

The earlier analyses of the phonetics and phonology of Kashmiri are of two types. First, those studies on phonetics which are written from pedagogical motivations. Second, those that involve discussions of both phonetics and phonology. I shall discuss some of the more recent ones here. The aim of Bailey's work (1937, p. 1) is "to describe the sounds of Kashmiri and to suggest an accurate, but not too elaborate, method of transcription ..." It presents the phonetics of Kashmiri essentially from a pedagogical point of view. Firth's (1939) transcription, as he says, presents a "tentative analysis" (1939, p. 67) of Kashmiri sounds. Commenting on it, Morgenstierne (1941, p. 82) says:

...this must be regarded more as an analysis of a bit of Kshm. [Kashmiri] 'parole' than as a record of the phonemic system of the 'langue' . .

Morgenstierne (1941, p. 82) presents a critical survey of the earlier works on Kashmiri phonetics and phonology. He has made some very interesting observations on different phonological problems of Kashmiri. It is, however, difficult to follow his analysis as his system of transcription is rather complicated.

Kelkar and Trisal (1964) have given an analysis of the word phonology of Hindu Kashmiri using the structural framework. Kachru's<sup>20</sup> two, more or less identical, analyses present the following phoneme inventory of the language:

1. *Consonant inventory*: Consonants have been grouped under the following manner series:

- (a) Stops (i.e. /p ph b, t th d, t̪ h d̪, k kh g/); (b) Affricates (i.e. /ts tsh, t̪ʃ h/); (c) Nasals (i.e. /m n/); (d) Fricatives (i.e. /s z ʃ h/); (e) Lateral (i.e. /l/); (f) Trill (i.e. /r/); and (g) Glides (i.e. /u y/).

Notice that, unlike neighboring Indo-Aryan languages, Kashmiri does not have voiced aspirates.

2. *Vowel inventory*. The vowel phonemes have been classified as follows:

- (a) two high: front and back /i/ and /u/; (b) two mid: front and back /e/ and /o/; (c) one lower mid back /ɔ/; (d) three central: high, mid and low /ɨ/, /ɜ/ and /a/.

The following phonetically interesting points may also be noted:

- 1. All the vowels are lengthened.
- 2. All the long vowels are nasalized.

<sup>20</sup> See sections on phonetics and phonology in Braj B. Kachru (forthcoming and mimeographed).

3. The following short vowels are nasalized: /e/; /o/; /ɔ/.
4. All the consonants (except palatal affricates and palatal semivowel) may be palatalized.

### 3.2.1. *Mātrā* vowels

In most analyses of Kashmiri attention has been drawn to what Grierson first termed the *mātrā* vowels. These have been presented as a "mysterious" entity. For instance, in Bailey (1936) we have the following statement:

Anyone seeing Kashmiri (kashmiri) written in Roman letters and noticing the numerous tiny vowels written above the line must wonder what they are and how they are pronounced, and must be bewildered to be told that many of them are inaudible to non-Kashmiri ears. *It reminds us of the high-pitched musical notes which scientists tell us human ears cannot hear, though cats' ears can.* (My italics).

He sets up six mātrā vowels which correspond to: *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, and *ṛ* or *ṝ*.

Of these, *a*, *e*, *u*, occur always, and *ɔ* sometimes, in a medial position. They are pronounced like *ɔ*, *e*, *u*, and *ɔ*, respectively, but when they merely join two syllables they are often omitted, as in *adrum* 'to be moist', where an *a-mūrd* vowel comes between the *d* and the *r*, but is not sounded (Bailey, 1937, p. 5).

Morgens tierne (1941) observes:

According to all European-observers final *u* and *ū* *mānā* are in *u* while the *i mānā* is sounded like a very short *i*. The main reason is the affection of a preceding vowel...

Considering the *mātrā* vowels as a serious problem, Morgenstierne tried to find historical explanations for it. He believes (1941, p. 69) that histor-

.. the *mātrā*-vowels must have been different vowel phonemes -*u*, -*i*, -*ī*. At a later time present -*i*, -*u* were probably long, as is still some times the case in poetry. Modern *u* is very rare and -*i* occurs chiefly in loanwords from Pers. [Persian]. Such words may have been introduced after the shortening of older -*i*, -*ī*. There is therefore no need to assume that there has at any given time existed a series of three different quantities in final syllables, *i*, *ī*, and *u*, *ū*.

### 3.2.2. Syllable structure

The following fragmentary information has been given about syllable structure in Kachin: (a) Kachru (forthcoming and mimeographed)

qui comprennent :

- No. 1 These structures can function as constituents within polysyllabic

No. 1. These structures can function as constituents within polysyllabic

A CC combination in initial and final positions involves a vocalic release or a glide. The nature of the glide is determined by the segment involved. It is this release which has perhaps been given the status of a *mātra vowel* in literature. The phonological and/or grammatical status of the *mātra vowels* deserves further investigation.

In his paper on "Syllabication in the Kashmiri language", Varma (1964, pp. 471-474) has made the following observations:

- (a) The combination of -CC is not possible;
- (b) the CVCV structure is 'peculiar to Kashmiri' as there is 'non-acoustic articulation' of the final vowel.

In order to illustrate the above (b) Varma gives the following examples: [korɤ] 'did'; [pɔpɤ] 'ripe'; [tɔnɤ] 'thin' (his transcription). It seems that the sudden release of C's in final position is given syllabic status which makes Varma (p. 471) postulate a syllable with, what he calls, 'non-acoustic articulation' of the -V. In my speech, and in the speech of two other Kashmiris from the same area (i.e. Srinagar, Kashmir), the above words have CVC structure [kor<sup>3</sup>], [pɔp<sup>3</sup>], [tɔn<sup>3</sup>]. Phonologically these will be /kor/, /pɔp/, /tɔn/.

Varma also makes statements on TENACITY and FLUIDITY in Kashmiri. By tenacity is meant the tendency in Kashmiri to "keep apart" each syllable "tenaciously maintaining its individuality" (Varma, 1964, p. 472-473). By fluidity is meant that "a Kashmiri syllable, though very tenacious, is quite sensitive to a succeeding [i] or [u]" (p. 472).

Varma (p. 473) concludes: "(1) that Kashmiri is one of those languages which, by virtue of 'tenacious junction', can offer object lessons on syllabication; and (2) that, this strict syllabication being mostly confined to Kashmiri dialects, it is of international importance to survey these dialects in the near future, for they are rapidly disappearing".

### 3.2.3. Stress

Kashmiri is a syllable-timed language and stress does not play the same role in it as it plays in the stress-timed languages such as English. The role of stress is one of emphasis-marker as in Hindi, Punjabi, etc.

## 3.3. Morphology and Syntax

The earlier descriptions of Kashmiri mainly concentrate on phonetics (see 3.2.) and morphology. In Burkhard,<sup>41</sup> Edgeworth (1841), Grierson,<sup>42</sup> Wade (1888), to name a

<sup>41</sup> Burkhard (1887, 1888, 1889). See also his "Essays on Kashmiri grammar", *Indian Antiquary*, vols. 26-27. These have been translated and edited, with notes and additions by G. A. Grierson.

<sup>42</sup> G. A. Grierson, "On the Kashmiri noun", "On primary suffixes in Kāṣmīrī", "On the secondary suffixes in Kāṣmīrī", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. 67 (1898); "On the Kāṣmīrī verb", *ibid.* (1899); these papers have been included in his *Essays on Kashmiri grammar* (London and Calcutta, 1899).

few, tentative morphological analyses have been presented. The descriptive techniques used are essentially those used for the analysis of English or Sanskrit. Among these analyses Grierson's papers (see fn. 32) are particularly insightful.

Note that Kashmiri morphology has certain features which mark it as separate from Indo-Aryan languages. For instance, in the demonstrative pronouns Kashmiri has a three-term system, as opposed to a two term system in Hindi and other north Indian languages. Grierson has discussed this and other such features in detail.

A recent analysis by Trisal (1964) presents a more rigorous analysis of contemporary Kashmiri morphology.

There has been practically no serious work on Kashmiri syntax. In Grierson's *LSI*, out of about 100 pages (233-332), there are only two references to syntax, (i.e. Grierson, 1919, p. 316).

[Order of words] is more like that of Persian than like that of Indian languages. The verb very rarely comes at the end of a sentence, but usually occupies the same place as in English.

Again (Grierson, 1915, p. 266):

In the order of words in a sentence, Ksh. [Kashmiri] differs altogether from Indian languages. In the latter the subject comes first, then the object or predicate, and last of all the verb; but, in Ksh. the verb precedes the predicate, as in Persian.

Grierson's treatment of syntax in *A manual of the Kashmiri language* (1911) is not much better. In addition to the above information on syntax, he adds that 'in a subordinate sentence the order is different, the verb generally coming last' (p. 64), and 'sometimes, for the sake of emphasis, a direct sentence is entirely inverted, much as in German or in poetical English' (p. 65).

Trisal's<sup>23</sup> *Kāshmirī bhāṣhā kā varṇanātmak vyākaraṇ* (in Hindi) is a descriptive analysis of the language based on about 'four thousand words and two thousand sentences'. It presents a description of 'educated' standard Kashmiri of Srinagar, Kashmir. The analysis concentrates on morphology, and a minor portion of it is devoted to syntax. A skeleton outline of Kashmiri grammar has been presented in *A grammatical sketch of Kashmiri* (in press) by Kachru. In the Preface he admits that:

It is to be treated as a *skeleton* analysis, and as a first step towards a detailed description of the Kashmiri language. The theoretical framework adopted here may roughly be termed 'traditional'; and the presentation more or less pedagogically oriented.

It includes short sections on the noun phrase, the verb phrase, clause and sentence, with a concluding section on the style-range in Kashmiri. A more detailed treatment of syntax is given in his *A reference grammar of Kashmiri*.<sup>24</sup> Edelman's<sup>25</sup> book *Jazyki Kashmiri* has recently been announced.

<sup>23</sup> For a synopsis of Trisal's thesis in Hindi entitled "Kāshmirī bhāṣhā kā varṇanātmak vyākaraṇ", (unpublished Agra University Ph. D. Thesis, 1964) see *Bhāratiya Sāhitya* 9:259-65 (Aprl, 1964).

<sup>24</sup> This has been worked out under a contract with the U.S. Office of Education. It is a manual for teachers and students of Kashmiri.

<sup>25</sup> It is to appear in the series *Jazyki narodov aziji i afriki* (Languages of the Asian and African Nations).

The main syntactic feature of Kashmiri on which comments have been made (for example by Grierson) is that in *surface-structure* it is different from Indo-Aryan languages such as Hindi. For instance, consider the following simple sentences in Hindi and Kashmiri:

- (1) *rām ne khānā khāyā*  
 'ram' 'by' 'food' 'ate'  
 'Ram ate food.'
- (2) *rāman kh'ay butī*  
 'ram' 'by' 'ate' 'food'  
 'Ram ate food.'

In Kashmiri, unlike Hindi, the verb precedes the object. This difference is also apparent in negative sentences (e.g. *rāman kh'ay nī butī*) or interrogative sentences (e.g. *rāman kh'ay butī?* or *kyā rāman kh'ay butī?*). It appears that in more complicated structures, say passive and causative, there are interesting similarities between Kashmiri and the Indo-Aryan languages.

### 3.4. *Dictionaries and Lexical Studies*

A few lexical studies of Kashmiri date back to the 18th and 19th centuries.<sup>36</sup> These studies do not show any sophistication and were produced mainly for two reasons. First, as vocabulary guides for non-Indian and/or non-Kashmiri visitors to Kashmir. Second, as comparative lexical lists for the study of the Dardic (or other) languages. It was again Grierson who produced a four volume 1252 page dictionary (1932) of the Kashmiri language with the assistance of Mukundarāma Śāstri. The basis of this work is the half-completed Kashmiri-Sanskrit *kōṣa* of Išvara Kaula of Srinagar. Išvara Kaula, says Grierson (1932, p. i),

never lived to complete, much less revise, his *Kōṣa* (he died in the year 1893 A.D.). For the first few letters of the alphabet he had, it is true, written out a fair copy, each entry consisting of a Kāshmirī word together with a synonym in Sanskrit and another in Hindī, but the greater part of the manuscript . . . consisted merely of memoranda — lists of Kāshmirī words with no translation at all, and even these not covering the whole alphabet.

Grierson's dictionary makes use of both the Devanagari and Perso-Arabic scripts. The Kashmiri lexical items are given in the Roman and Devanagari and occasionally in the Perso-Arabic script also. It has now become outdated and is also difficult to obtain.

<sup>36</sup> For instance, among others, see the following. Austen (1866), Edgeworth (1841), and Elmslie (1872).

## 4. THE WRITING SYSTEMS OF DARDIC LANGUAGES

In the Dardic sub-family, Kashmiri is the only language which has a literary tradition and for which written records are available. The earliest literary text of Kashmiri has been placed between 1200-1500 A.D. The tradition of literary writing was not continuous and there have been long periods of very meagre literary output. Out of the Dardic group of languages, Kashmiri has used different scripts, while the other languages (dialects) are either unwritten or Perso-Arabic script is generally used. The following scripts have been used for Kashmiri and its dialects:

1. *Sharada*: In Grierson's *On the Sharada alphabet* (1916, see also 1904), a detailed discussion and analysis of this alphabet is given (Grierson, 1916, p. 677-678).

The *Sharada* alphabet is based on the same system as that of the Nāgarī alphabet. It is most nearly related to the Takri alphabet of the Pargol Hills and to the *Laundi*, or 'old' script, alphabet of the Pothohar and Pto-phter to the Garhwalī alphabet, but, unlike them and like Nāgarī, it puts the letters *se* and *fo* at the end of the alphabet, and not after the vowels.

The earliest documents of Kashmiri are written in the *Sharada* script. This script developed around the 13th century. It is now used only for restricted purposes by the Kashmiri Pandit community (say, for religious purposes or horoscope writing). In formation, the symbol is are slightly different from the Devanagari symbol, and every letter of the alphabet has a name (1916, p. 680 ff.).

2. *Devanagari*: This script is used by the Kashmiri Hindu community alternately with other scripts. It was particularly made popular by Zinda Kaul 'Mastuji' and S. K. Toshkhani. A system of diacritic marks for typically Kashmiri sounds was also devised.

3. *Perso-Arabic*: The use of this script cuts across religious boundaries and is used both by the Pandit community and the Muslims. The Government of Jammu and Kashmir has recognized it as the official script since 1947. This script has its disadvantages from the point of view of readability, teachability, and typography.<sup>22</sup>

4. *Romani*: This script has always been used by Kashmiris and non-Kashmiris with some diacritic marks. It has many advantages over *Sharada*, *Devanagari* and *Perso-Arabic* scripts.

5. *Takri*: This is used for Kashiwari in the Kashiwar area of the state.

## 5. CURRENT RESEARCH

It was only after 1947 that some interest was shown in the linguistic and literary aspects of Kashmiri and other Dardic languages. This naturally led to organized research and individual research on different linguistic and literary aspects of the Dardic

<sup>22</sup> In the final decision for accepting this script much of the negative matters were considered. The weaknesses of the Perso-Arabic script for Kashmiri is as follows:

group of languages. In current organized research the following three projects deserve special mention.

1. *The Vishnucharananand Vedic Research Institute*:<sup>23</sup> The institute has initiated fieldwork in what they term "Dardic-Pahar" areas from the Kashmir Valley to the Kangra Valley. The survey included a lexical study of 27 dialects (21 of Pahari and 6 of Kashmiri). The six area-defined dialects of Kashmiri included in the survey are (a) Wapir (a village 7 miles from Srinagar), (b) Srinagar town, (c) Banihal, (d) Kashiwar, (e) Banihalot (bordering on Rajni) and (f) Anantnag.

The projected lexicon will comprise about 32,000 lexical items. It was in October, 1960, that the second phase of research was started under the guidance of Sudheshwar Verman:

The Institute is beginning to realize more and more that the common links in Dardic-Pahari are of topical importance for investigation at this stage of our research work. For instance, after a very mature and close study of Kashmiri vowel-system undertaken by the Institute in the past, the investigation of Central Pahari, viz. Kumaoni vowel system, in which we are intensely engaged at present, has started us to the amazing similarity of Kashmiri and Kumaoni in their sensitive vowel system, in spite of their mutually unintelligible vocabularies.<sup>24</sup>

2. *The Academy of Art, Culture, and Languages, Jammu and Kashmir Government*: The Academy has the following projects:<sup>25</sup> (a) *A Kashmiri-Kashmiri dictionary*,<sup>26</sup> (b) *An Urdu-Kashmiri dictionary*,<sup>27</sup> The Academy has also undertaken a linguistic survey of several parts of the Kashmiri-speaking areas of the State. It has subsidized the publication of the following linguistically interesting books:<sup>28</sup> Abdul Khaliq Taks *ka Sri abadani hant ugar vai* (different forms of Kashmiri), and J. L. Kaul's *Studies in Kashmiri*.

3. *University of Illinois, Kashmiri Language Project*: A Kashmiri Language Project was initiated by the Department of Linguistics, at the University of Illinois in Urbana, Illinois, U.S.A., with a grant from the U.S. Office of Education.<sup>29</sup> The final product of this project will be a pedagogically oriented teaching manual of Kashmiri entitled *A reference grammar of Kashmiri*. The Department is also preparing material for the teaching of Kashmiri to non-Kashmiri students. A course on "Introduction to Kashmiri" has been offered as of the Spring Semester of 1967.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>23</sup> This information was kindly given in a private communication dated May 7, 1966 by Vishnu Banihal, Director of the Vishnucharananand Vedic Research Institute, Hoshanpur, India.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> This information has been supplied by J. L. Kaul, the then Secretary of Jammu and Kashmir Academy of Art, Culture and Languages, Srinagar, in a private communication dated May 18, 1966.

<sup>26</sup> "The first volume of which is ready for publication". Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> "One volume of which is expected to be ready by the end of the summer". Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> "These are in the press and are expected to be out by the end of this year". Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> The Director and Principal Investigator of this Project is Brad B. Kachari.

<sup>30</sup> The University of Illinois is the first University in the western world where a course in Kashmiri is being offered.

- Berger, Hermann, "Remarks on Shina loans in Burushaski", *Stahelidsh premlia-ion volume* 79-89 (Lahore, 1966).
- Bowrie, L. B., "Vocabulary of the Kashmiri language", Appendix D in Sir George Cameron's *Ethnology of India*, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. 35, special number (1866).
- Buddhars, G., *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Pāṇini-Dialekte* (Wiesbaden, 1959a).
- , *Kennzeichn. Proben eines Māyā-Dialektes aus Tāngi (Hindukush)*, (München, 1959b).
- , *Die Sprache von Wajapur und Kājārgāh*, (Bonn, 1960a).
- , *Zur Mythologie der Prasin Kāfirin*, (Festschrift Hermann Lommel, Wiesbaden, 1960b).
- Bühler, G., "Detailed report of a tour in search of Sanskrit mss. made in Kashmir, Rajputana, and Central India", Extra number of the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, see pp. 117 and 188ff (Bombay and London, 1877).
- Burkhard, Karl Friedrich, "Das Verbum der Kācmin-Sprache", *Sitzungsberichte der philologisch-philologischen und der historischen Classe der königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in München*, 303-426 (1887).
- , "Die Nomina der Kācmin-Sprache", *Sitzungsberichte der philologisch-philologischen und der historischen Classe der königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in München*, 444-522 (1888).
- , "Die Präpositionen der Kācmin-Sprache", *Sitzungsberichte der philologisch-philologischen und der historischen Classe der königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in München*, 375-468 (1889).
- Burnes, S. A., "On the Sindh-Poosh Kāfir, with specimens of their language and customs", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 7 325ff. (1838).
- Campbell, Sir George, "The ethnology of India, by Mr Justice Campbell", (Appendix C Comparative table of Northern and Arian words. Cashmeres, etc.) *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. 35, special number (1866).
- , *Specimens of the languages of India, including those of the aboriginal tribes of Bengal, the Central provinces, and the Eastern frontier, vocabularies ... Punjab and neighbouring countries ... Cashmeres, etc.* (Calcutta, 1874).
- Cape, G., "Vocabulaires des langues pré-pamiriques", *Bulletins de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, 12 203ff (1889).
- Chatterji, Sanjukumar, *Linguistic survey of India, languages and scripts* "The cultural heritage of India", vol. 1, (Calcutta 1958).
- , *Languages and literatures of modern India* (Calcutta, 1963), especially pp. 33-34 and 256-270.
- Cunningham, Sir Alexander, *Lodhi, physical, statistical and historical ethnography of the surrounding countries* (London, 1854) (Chapter 15, Vocabularies. Kashmiri, etc.).
- "The Dardic branch or sub-branch of Indo-European", *Ant 7 8 284-294* (1965).

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

## 6. CONCLUSIONS

This brief survey shows that the research in Kashmiri and other Dardic languages has made practically no serious progress in the last two decades. We still lack reliable and detailed descriptions of these languages based on contemporary linguistic models. In fact, some of these languages have not been described at all. There is practically no information about the syntax of these languages, and historical and typological questions are being debated on very fragmentary evidence. The governments of the Dardic language areas have shown no special interest in encouraging scientific research on the languages of their area. Kashmiri is the first language of 1,959,115 people, was, until recently, not used for educational purposes. Even now it has only been given the status of a medium of instruction up to the primary classes without providing the teachers with adequate textbooks and other teaching materials.

The University of Jammu and Kashmir has so far shown no interest in research in Kashmiri and/or other Dardic languages. One can count many reasons for this attitude (e.g. political, educational), but the main reason is the language-attitude of Kashmiris toward their own languages. This attitude has developed over hundreds of years under varied foreign influences and is still dominant in the spite of the recent cultural upsurge. The attitude toward the language has not changed. Perhaps this is why the Government and other educational institutions do not seriously consider Kashmiri under the category of languages.

## SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adelung, Johann Christoph, *Verord. es eine allgemeine Spracherkunde, mit dem 1. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 2. Theil der Hindustanischen, 3. Theil der Persischen, 4. Theil der Arabischen, 5. Theil der Türkischen, 6. Theil der Chinesischen, 7. Theil der Indischen, 8. Theil der Sinesischen, 9. Theil der Mongolischen, 10. Theil der Tibetischen, 11. Theil der Burjatischen, 12. Theil der Kalmückischen, 13. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 14. Theil der West-Türkischen, 15. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 16. Theil der Hindustanischen, 17. Theil der Persischen, 18. Theil der Arabischen, 19. Theil der Türkischen, 20. Theil der Chinesischen, 21. Theil der Indischen, 22. Theil der Sinesischen, 23. Theil der Mongolischen, 24. Theil der Tibetischen, 25. Theil der Burjatischen, 26. Theil der Kalmückischen, 27. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 28. Theil der West-Türkischen, 29. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 30. Theil der Hindustanischen, 31. Theil der Persischen, 32. Theil der Arabischen, 33. Theil der Türkischen, 34. Theil der Chinesischen, 35. Theil der Indischen, 36. Theil der Sinesischen, 37. Theil der Mongolischen, 38. Theil der Tibetischen, 39. Theil der Burjatischen, 40. Theil der Kalmückischen, 41. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 42. Theil der West-Türkischen, 43. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 44. Theil der Hindustanischen, 45. Theil der Persischen, 46. Theil der Arabischen, 47. Theil der Türkischen, 48. Theil der Chinesischen, 49. Theil der Indischen, 50. Theil der Sinesischen, 51. Theil der Mongolischen, 52. Theil der Tibetischen, 53. Theil der Burjatischen, 54. Theil der Kalmückischen, 55. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 56. Theil der West-Türkischen, 57. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 58. Theil der Hindustanischen, 59. Theil der Persischen, 60. Theil der Arabischen, 61. Theil der Türkischen, 62. Theil der Chinesischen, 63. Theil der Indischen, 64. Theil der Sinesischen, 65. Theil der Mongolischen, 66. Theil der Tibetischen, 67. Theil der Burjatischen, 68. Theil der Kalmückischen, 69. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 70. Theil der West-Türkischen, 71. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 72. Theil der Hindustanischen, 73. Theil der Persischen, 74. Theil der Arabischen, 75. Theil der Türkischen, 76. Theil der Chinesischen, 77. Theil der Indischen, 78. Theil der Sinesischen, 79. Theil der Mongolischen, 80. Theil der Tibetischen, 81. Theil der Burjatischen, 82. Theil der Kalmückischen, 83. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 84. Theil der West-Türkischen, 85. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 86. Theil der Hindustanischen, 87. Theil der Persischen, 88. Theil der Arabischen, 89. Theil der Türkischen, 90. Theil der Chinesischen, 91. Theil der Indischen, 92. Theil der Sinesischen, 93. Theil der Mongolischen, 94. Theil der Tibetischen, 95. Theil der Burjatischen, 96. Theil der Kalmückischen, 97. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 98. Theil der West-Türkischen, 99. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 100. Theil der Hindustanischen, 101. Theil der Persischen, 102. Theil der Arabischen, 103. Theil der Türkischen, 104. Theil der Chinesischen, 105. Theil der Indischen, 106. Theil der Sinesischen, 107. Theil der Mongolischen, 108. Theil der Tibetischen, 109. Theil der Burjatischen, 110. Theil der Kalmückischen, 111. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 112. Theil der West-Türkischen, 113. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 114. Theil der Hindustanischen, 115. Theil der Persischen, 116. Theil der Arabischen, 117. Theil der Türkischen, 118. Theil der Chinesischen, 119. Theil der Indischen, 120. Theil der Sinesischen, 121. Theil der Mongolischen, 122. Theil der Tibetischen, 123. Theil der Burjatischen, 124. Theil der Kalmückischen, 125. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 126. Theil der West-Türkischen, 127. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 128. Theil der Hindustanischen, 129. Theil der Persischen, 130. Theil der Arabischen, 131. Theil der Türkischen, 132. Theil der Chinesischen, 133. Theil der Indischen, 134. Theil der Sinesischen, 135. Theil der Mongolischen, 136. Theil der Tibetischen, 137. Theil der Burjatischen, 138. Theil der Kalmückischen, 139. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 140. Theil der West-Türkischen, 141. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 142. Theil der Hindustanischen, 143. Theil der Persischen, 144. Theil der Arabischen, 145. Theil der Türkischen, 146. Theil der Chinesischen, 147. Theil der Indischen, 148. Theil der Sinesischen, 149. Theil der Mongolischen, 150. Theil der Tibetischen, 151. Theil der Burjatischen, 152. Theil der Kalmückischen, 153. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 154. Theil der West-Türkischen, 155. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 156. Theil der Hindustanischen, 157. Theil der Persischen, 158. Theil der Arabischen, 159. Theil der Türkischen, 160. Theil der Chinesischen, 161. Theil der Indischen, 162. Theil der Sinesischen, 163. Theil der Mongolischen, 164. Theil der Tibetischen, 165. Theil der Burjatischen, 166. Theil der Kalmückischen, 167. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 168. Theil der West-Türkischen, 169. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 170. Theil der Hindustanischen, 171. Theil der Persischen, 172. Theil der Arabischen, 173. Theil der Türkischen, 174. Theil der Chinesischen, 175. Theil der Indischen, 176. Theil der Sinesischen, 177. Theil der Mongolischen, 178. Theil der Tibetischen, 179. Theil der Burjatischen, 180. Theil der Kalmückischen, 181. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 182. Theil der West-Türkischen, 183. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 184. Theil der Hindustanischen, 185. Theil der Persischen, 186. Theil der Arabischen, 187. Theil der Türkischen, 188. Theil der Chinesischen, 189. Theil der Indischen, 190. Theil der Sinesischen, 191. Theil der Mongolischen, 192. Theil der Tibetischen, 193. Theil der Burjatischen, 194. Theil der Kalmückischen, 195. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 196. Theil der West-Türkischen, 197. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 198. Theil der Hindustanischen, 199. Theil der Persischen, 200. Theil der Arabischen, 201. Theil der Türkischen, 202. Theil der Chinesischen, 203. Theil der Indischen, 204. Theil der Sinesischen, 205. Theil der Mongolischen, 206. Theil der Tibetischen, 207. Theil der Burjatischen, 208. Theil der Kalmückischen, 209. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 210. Theil der West-Türkischen, 211. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 212. Theil der Hindustanischen, 213. Theil der Persischen, 214. Theil der Arabischen, 215. Theil der Türkischen, 216. Theil der Chinesischen, 217. Theil der Indischen, 218. Theil der Sinesischen, 219. Theil der Mongolischen, 220. Theil der Tibetischen, 221. Theil der Burjatischen, 222. Theil der Kalmückischen, 223. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 224. Theil der West-Türkischen, 225. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 226. Theil der Hindustanischen, 227. Theil der Persischen, 228. Theil der Arabischen, 229. Theil der Türkischen, 230. Theil der Chinesischen, 231. Theil der Indischen, 232. Theil der Sinesischen, 233. Theil der Mongolischen, 234. Theil der Tibetischen, 235. Theil der Burjatischen, 236. Theil der Kalmückischen, 237. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 238. Theil der West-Türkischen, 239. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 240. Theil der Hindustanischen, 241. Theil der Persischen, 242. Theil der Arabischen, 243. Theil der Türkischen, 244. Theil der Chinesischen, 245. Theil der Indischen, 246. Theil der Sinesischen, 247. Theil der Mongolischen, 248. Theil der Tibetischen, 249. Theil der Burjatischen, 250. Theil der Kalmückischen, 251. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 252. Theil der West-Türkischen, 253. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 254. Theil der Hindustanischen, 255. Theil der Persischen, 256. Theil der Arabischen, 257. Theil der Türkischen, 258. Theil der Chinesischen, 259. Theil der Indischen, 260. Theil der Sinesischen, 261. Theil der Mongolischen, 262. Theil der Tibetischen, 263. Theil der Burjatischen, 264. Theil der Kalmückischen, 265. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 266. Theil der West-Türkischen, 267. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 268. Theil der Hindustanischen, 269. Theil der Persischen, 270. Theil der Arabischen, 271. Theil der Türkischen, 272. Theil der Chinesischen, 273. Theil der Indischen, 274. Theil der Sinesischen, 275. Theil der Mongolischen, 276. Theil der Tibetischen, 277. Theil der Burjatischen, 278. Theil der Kalmückischen, 279. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 280. Theil der West-Türkischen, 281. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 282. Theil der Hindustanischen, 283. Theil der Persischen, 284. Theil der Arabischen, 285. Theil der Türkischen, 286. Theil der Chinesischen, 287. Theil der Indischen, 288. Theil der Sinesischen, 289. Theil der Mongolischen, 290. Theil der Tibetischen, 291. Theil der Burjatischen, 292. Theil der Kalmückischen, 293. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 294. Theil der West-Türkischen, 295. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 296. Theil der Hindustanischen, 297. Theil der Persischen, 298. Theil der Arabischen, 299. Theil der Türkischen, 300. Theil der Chinesischen, 301. Theil der Indischen, 302. Theil der Sinesischen, 303. Theil der Mongolischen, 304. Theil der Tibetischen, 305. Theil der Burjatischen, 306. Theil der Kalmückischen, 307. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 308. Theil der West-Türkischen, 309. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 310. Theil der Hindustanischen, 311. Theil der Persischen, 312. Theil der Arabischen, 313. Theil der Türkischen, 314. Theil der Chinesischen, 315. Theil der Indischen, 316. Theil der Sinesischen, 317. Theil der Mongolischen, 318. Theil der Tibetischen, 319. Theil der Burjatischen, 320. Theil der Kalmückischen, 321. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 322. Theil der West-Türkischen, 323. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 324. Theil der Hindustanischen, 325. Theil der Persischen, 326. Theil der Arabischen, 327. Theil der Türkischen, 328. Theil der Chinesischen, 329. Theil der Indischen, 330. Theil der Sinesischen, 331. Theil der Mongolischen, 332. Theil der Tibetischen, 333. Theil der Burjatischen, 334. Theil der Kalmückischen, 335. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 336. Theil der West-Türkischen, 337. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 338. Theil der Hindustanischen, 339. Theil der Persischen, 340. Theil der Arabischen, 341. Theil der Türkischen, 342. Theil der Chinesischen, 343. Theil der Indischen, 344. Theil der Sinesischen, 345. Theil der Mongolischen, 346. Theil der Tibetischen, 347. Theil der Burjatischen, 348. Theil der Kalmückischen, 349. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 350. Theil der West-Türkischen, 351. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 352. Theil der Hindustanischen, 353. Theil der Persischen, 354. Theil der Arabischen, 355. Theil der Türkischen, 356. Theil der Chinesischen, 357. Theil der Indischen, 358. Theil der Sinesischen, 359. Theil der Mongolischen, 360. Theil der Tibetischen, 361. Theil der Burjatischen, 362. Theil der Kalmückischen, 363. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 364. Theil der West-Türkischen, 365. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 366. Theil der Hindustanischen, 367. Theil der Persischen, 368. Theil der Arabischen, 369. Theil der Türkischen, 370. Theil der Chinesischen, 371. Theil der Indischen, 372. Theil der Sinesischen, 373. Theil der Mongolischen, 374. Theil der Tibetischen, 375. Theil der Burjatischen, 376. Theil der Kalmückischen, 377. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 378. Theil der West-Türkischen, 379. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 380. Theil der Hindustanischen, 381. Theil der Persischen, 382. Theil der Arabischen, 383. Theil der Türkischen, 384. Theil der Chinesischen, 385. Theil der Indischen, 386. Theil der Sinesischen, 387. Theil der Mongolischen, 388. Theil der Tibetischen, 389. Theil der Burjatischen, 390. Theil der Kalmückischen, 391. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 392. Theil der West-Türkischen, 393. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 394. Theil der Hindustanischen, 395. Theil der Persischen, 396. Theil der Arabischen, 397. Theil der Türkischen, 398. Theil der Chinesischen, 399. Theil der Indischen, 400. Theil der Sinesischen, 401. Theil der Mongolischen, 402. Theil der Tibetischen, 403. Theil der Burjatischen, 404. Theil der Kalmückischen, 405. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 406. Theil der West-Türkischen, 407. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 408. Theil der Hindustanischen, 409. Theil der Persischen, 410. Theil der Arabischen, 411. Theil der Türkischen, 412. Theil der Chinesischen, 413. Theil der Indischen, 414. Theil der Sinesischen, 415. Theil der Mongolischen, 416. Theil der Tibetischen, 417. Theil der Burjatischen, 418. Theil der Kalmückischen, 419. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 420. Theil der West-Türkischen, 421. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 422. Theil der Hindustanischen, 423. Theil der Persischen, 424. Theil der Arabischen, 425. Theil der Türkischen, 426. Theil der Chinesischen, 427. Theil der Indischen, 428. Theil der Sinesischen, 429. Theil der Mongolischen, 430. Theil der Tibetischen, 431. Theil der Burjatischen, 432. Theil der Kalmückischen, 433. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 434. Theil der West-Türkischen, 435. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 436. Theil der Hindustanischen, 437. Theil der Persischen, 438. Theil der Arabischen, 439. Theil der Türkischen, 440. Theil der Chinesischen, 441. Theil der Indischen, 442. Theil der Sinesischen, 443. Theil der Mongolischen, 444. Theil der Tibetischen, 445. Theil der Burjatischen, 446. Theil der Kalmückischen, 447. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 448. Theil der West-Türkischen, 449. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 450. Theil der Hindustanischen, 451. Theil der Persischen, 452. Theil der Arabischen, 453. Theil der Türkischen, 454. Theil der Chinesischen, 455. Theil der Indischen, 456. Theil der Sinesischen, 457. Theil der Mongolischen, 458. Theil der Tibetischen, 459. Theil der Burjatischen, 460. Theil der Kalmückischen, 461. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 462. Theil der West-Türkischen, 463. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 464. Theil der Hindustanischen, 465. Theil der Persischen, 466. Theil der Arabischen, 467. Theil der Türkischen, 468. Theil der Chinesischen, 469. Theil der Indischen, 470. Theil der Sinesischen, 471. Theil der Mongolischen, 472. Theil der Tibetischen, 473. Theil der Burjatischen, 474. Theil der Kalmückischen, 475. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 476. Theil der West-Türkischen, 477. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 478. Theil der Hindustanischen, 479. Theil der Persischen, 480. Theil der Arabischen, 481. Theil der Türkischen, 482. Theil der Chinesischen, 483. Theil der Indischen, 484. Theil der Sinesischen, 485. Theil der Mongolischen, 486. Theil der Tibetischen, 487. Theil der Burjatischen, 488. Theil der Kalmückischen, 489. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 490. Theil der West-Türkischen, 491. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 492. Theil der Hindustanischen, 493. Theil der Persischen, 494. Theil der Arabischen, 495. Theil der Türkischen, 496. Theil der Chinesischen, 497. Theil der Indischen, 498. Theil der Sinesischen, 499. Theil der Mongolischen, 500. Theil der Tibetischen, 501. Theil der Burjatischen, 502. Theil der Kalmückischen, 503. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 504. Theil der West-Türkischen, 505. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 506. Theil der Hindustanischen, 507. Theil der Persischen, 508. Theil der Arabischen, 509. Theil der Türkischen, 510. Theil der Chinesischen, 511. Theil der Indischen, 512. Theil der Sinesischen, 513. Theil der Mongolischen, 514. Theil der Tibetischen, 515. Theil der Burjatischen, 516. Theil der Kalmückischen, 517. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 518. Theil der West-Türkischen, 519. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 520. Theil der Hindustanischen, 521. Theil der Persischen, 522. Theil der Arabischen, 523. Theil der Türkischen, 524. Theil der Chinesischen, 525. Theil der Indischen, 526. Theil der Sinesischen, 527. Theil der Mongolischen, 528. Theil der Tibetischen, 529. Theil der Burjatischen, 530. Theil der Kalmückischen, 531. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 532. Theil der West-Türkischen, 533. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 534. Theil der Hindustanischen, 535. Theil der Persischen, 536. Theil der Arabischen, 537. Theil der Türkischen, 538. Theil der Chinesischen, 539. Theil der Indischen, 540. Theil der Sinesischen, 541. Theil der Mongolischen, 542. Theil der Tibetischen, 543. Theil der Burjatischen, 544. Theil der Kalmückischen, 545. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 546. Theil der West-Türkischen, 547. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 548. Theil der Hindustanischen, 549. Theil der Persischen, 550. Theil der Arabischen, 551. Theil der Türkischen, 552. Theil der Chinesischen, 553. Theil der Indischen, 554. Theil der Sinesischen, 555. Theil der Mongolischen, 556. Theil der Tibetischen, 557. Theil der Burjatischen, 558. Theil der Kalmückischen, 559. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 560. Theil der West-Türkischen, 561. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 562. Theil der Hindustanischen, 563. Theil der Persischen, 564. Theil der Arabischen, 565. Theil der Türkischen, 566. Theil der Chinesischen, 567. Theil der Indischen, 568. Theil der Sinesischen, 569. Theil der Mongolischen, 570. Theil der Tibetischen, 571. Theil der Burjatischen, 572. Theil der Kalmückischen, 573. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 574. Theil der West-Türkischen, 575. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 576. Theil der Hindustanischen, 577. Theil der Persischen, 578. Theil der Arabischen, 579. Theil der Türkischen, 580. Theil der Chinesischen, 581. Theil der Indischen, 582. Theil der Sinesischen, 583. Theil der Mongolischen, 584. Theil der Tibetischen, 585. Theil der Burjatischen, 586. Theil der Kalmückischen, 587. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 588. Theil der West-Türkischen, 589. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 590. Theil der Hindustanischen, 591. Theil der Persischen, 592. Theil der Arabischen, 593. Theil der Türkischen, 594. Theil der Chinesischen, 595. Theil der Indischen, 596. Theil der Sinesischen, 597. Theil der Mongolischen, 598. Theil der Tibetischen, 599. Theil der Burjatischen, 600. Theil der Kalmückischen, 601. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 602. Theil der West-Türkischen, 603. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 604. Theil der Hindustanischen, 605. Theil der Persischen, 606. Theil der Arabischen, 607. Theil der Türkischen, 608. Theil der Chinesischen, 609. Theil der Indischen, 610. Theil der Sinesischen, 611. Theil der Mongolischen, 612. Theil der Tibetischen, 613. Theil der Burjatischen, 614. Theil der Kalmückischen, 615. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 616. Theil der West-Türkischen, 617. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 618. Theil der Hindustanischen, 619. Theil der Persischen, 620. Theil der Arabischen, 621. Theil der Türkischen, 622. Theil der Chinesischen, 623. Theil der Indischen, 624. Theil der Sinesischen, 625. Theil der Mongolischen, 626. Theil der Tibetischen, 627. Theil der Burjatischen, 628. Theil der Kalmückischen, 629. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 630. Theil der West-Türkischen, 631. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 632. Theil der Hindustanischen, 633. Theil der Persischen, 634. Theil der Arabischen, 635. Theil der Türkischen, 636. Theil der Chinesischen, 637. Theil der Indischen, 638. Theil der Sinesischen, 639. Theil der Mongolischen, 640. Theil der Tibetischen, 641. Theil der Burjatischen, 642. Theil der Kalmückischen, 643. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 644. Theil der West-Türkischen, 645. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 646. Theil der Hindustanischen, 647. Theil der Persischen, 648. Theil der Arabischen, 649. Theil der Türkischen, 650. Theil der Chinesischen, 651. Theil der Indischen, 652. Theil der Sinesischen, 653. Theil der Mongolischen, 654. Theil der Tibetischen, 655. Theil der Burjatischen, 656. Theil der Kalmückischen, 657. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 658. Theil der West-Türkischen, 659. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 660. Theil der Hindustanischen, 661. Theil der Persischen, 662. Theil der Arabischen, 663. Theil der Türkischen, 664. Theil der Chinesischen, 665. Theil der Indischen, 666. Theil der Sinesischen, 667. Theil der Mongolischen, 668. Theil der Tibetischen, 669. Theil der Burjatischen, 670. Theil der Kalmückischen, 671. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 672. Theil der West-Türkischen, 673. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 674. Theil der Hindustanischen, 675. Theil der Persischen, 676. Theil der Arabischen, 677. Theil der Türkischen, 678. Theil der Chinesischen, 679. Theil der Indischen, 680. Theil der Sinesischen, 681. Theil der Mongolischen, 682. Theil der Tibetischen, 683. Theil der Burjatischen, 684. Theil der Kalmückischen, 685. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 686. Theil der West-Türkischen, 687. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 688. Theil der Hindustanischen, 689. Theil der Persischen, 690. Theil der Arabischen, 691. Theil der Türkischen, 692. Theil der Chinesischen, 693. Theil der Indischen, 694. Theil der Sinesischen, 695. Theil der Mongolischen, 696. Theil der Tibetischen, 697. Theil der Burjatischen, 698. Theil der Kalmückischen, 699. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 700. Theil der West-Türkischen, 701. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 702. Theil der Hindustanischen, 703. Theil der Persischen, 704. Theil der Arabischen, 705. Theil der Türkischen, 706. Theil der Chinesischen, 707. Theil der Indischen, 708. Theil der Sinesischen, 709. Theil der Mongolischen, 710. Theil der Tibetischen, 711. Theil der Burjatischen, 712. Theil der Kalmückischen, 713. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 714. Theil der West-Türkischen, 715. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 716. Theil der Hindustanischen, 717. Theil der Persischen, 718. Theil der Arabischen, 719. Theil der Türkischen, 720. Theil der Chinesischen, 721. Theil der Indischen, 722. Theil der Sinesischen, 723. Theil der Mongolischen, 724. Theil der Tibetischen, 725. Theil der Burjatischen, 726. Theil der Kalmückischen, 727. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 728. Theil der West-Türkischen, 729. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 730. Theil der Hindustanischen, 731. Theil der Persischen, 732. Theil der Arabischen, 733. Theil der Türkischen, 734. Theil der Chinesischen, 735. Theil der Indischen, 736. Theil der Sinesischen, 737. Theil der Mongolischen, 738. Theil der Tibetischen, 739. Theil der Burjatischen, 740. Theil der Kalmückischen, 741. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 742. Theil der West-Türkischen, 743. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 744. Theil der Hindustanischen, 745. Theil der Persischen, 746. Theil der Arabischen, 747. Theil der Türkischen, 748. Theil der Chinesischen, 749. Theil der Indischen, 750. Theil der Sinesischen, 751. Theil der Mongolischen, 752. Theil der Tibetischen, 753. Theil der Burjatischen, 754. Theil der Kalmückischen, 755. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 756. Theil der West-Türkischen, 757. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 758. Theil der Hindustanischen, 759. Theil der Persischen, 760. Theil der Arabischen, 761. Theil der Türkischen, 762. Theil der Chinesischen, 763. Theil der Indischen, 764. Theil der Sinesischen, 765. Theil der Mongolischen, 766. Theil der Tibetischen, 767. Theil der Burjatischen, 768. Theil der Kalmückischen, 769. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 770. Theil der West-Türkischen, 771. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 772. Theil der Hindustanischen, 773. Theil der Persischen, 774. Theil der Arabischen, 775. Theil der Türkischen, 776. Theil der Chinesischen, 777. Theil der Indischen, 778. Theil der Sinesischen, 779. Theil der Mongolischen, 780. Theil der Tibetischen, 781. Theil der Burjatischen, 782. Theil der Kalmückischen, 783. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 784. Theil der West-Türkischen, 785. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 786. Theil der Hindustanischen, 787. Theil der Persischen, 788. Theil der Arabischen, 789. Theil der Türkischen, 790. Theil der Chinesischen, 791. Theil der Indischen, 792. Theil der Sinesischen, 793. Theil der Mongolischen, 794. Theil der Tibetischen, 795. Theil der Burjatischen, 796. Theil der Kalmückischen, 797. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 798. Theil der West-Türkischen, 799. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 800. Theil der Hindustanischen, 801. Theil der Persischen, 802. Theil der Arabischen, 803. Theil der Türkischen, 804. Theil der Chinesischen, 805. Theil der Indischen, 806. Theil der Sinesischen, 807. Theil der Mongolischen, 808. Theil der Tibetischen, 809. Theil der Burjatischen, 810. Theil der Kalmückischen, 811. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 812. Theil der West-Türkischen, 813. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 814. Theil der Hindustanischen, 815. Theil der Persischen, 816. Theil der Arabischen, 817. Theil der Türkischen, 818. Theil der Chinesischen, 819. Theil der Indischen, 820. Theil der Sinesischen, 821. Theil der Mongolischen, 822. Theil der Tibetischen, 823. Theil der Burjatischen, 824. Theil der Kalmückischen, 825. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 826. Theil der West-Türkischen, 827. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 828. Theil der Hindustanischen, 829. Theil der Persischen, 830. Theil der Arabischen, 831. Theil der Türkischen, 832. Theil der Chinesischen, 833. Theil der Indischen, 834. Theil der Sinesischen, 835. Theil der Mongolischen, 836. Theil der Tibetischen, 837. Theil der Burjatischen, 838. Theil der Kalmückischen, 839. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 840. Theil der West-Türkischen, 841. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 842. Theil der Hindustanischen, 843. Theil der Persischen, 844. Theil der Arabischen, 845. Theil der Türkischen, 846. Theil der Chinesischen, 847. Theil der Indischen, 848. Theil der Sinesischen, 849. Theil der Mongolischen, 850. Theil der Tibetischen, 851. Theil der Burjatischen, 852. Theil der Kalmückischen, 853. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 854. Theil der West-Türkischen, 855. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 856. Theil der Hindustanischen, 857. Theil der Persischen, 858. Theil der Arabischen, 859. Theil der Türkischen, 860. Theil der Chinesischen, 861. Theil der Indischen, 862. Theil der Sinesischen, 863. Theil der Mongolischen, 864. Theil der Tibetischen, 865. Theil der Burjatischen, 866. Theil der Kalmückischen, 867. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 868. Theil der West-Türkischen, 869. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 870. Theil der Hindustanischen, 871. Theil der Persischen, 872. Theil der Arabischen, 873. Theil der Türkischen, 874. Theil der Chinesischen, 875. Theil der Indischen, 876. Theil der Sinesischen, 877. Theil der Mongolischen, 878. Theil der Tibetischen, 879. Theil der Burjatischen, 880. Theil der Kalmückischen, 881. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 882. Theil der West-Türkischen, 883. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 884. Theil der Hindustanischen, 885. Theil der Persischen, 886. Theil der Arabischen, 887. Theil der Türkischen, 888. Theil der Chinesischen, 889. Theil der Indischen, 890. Theil der Sinesischen, 891. Theil der Mongolischen, 892. Theil der Tibetischen, 893. Theil der Burjatischen, 894. Theil der Kalmückischen, 895. Theil der Ost-Türkischen, 896. Theil der West-Türkischen, 897. Theil der Kaschmirischen, 898. Theil der Hindustanischen, 899. Theil der Persischen, 900. Theil der Arabischen, 901. Theil der Türkischen, 902. Theil der Chinesischen, 903. Theil der Indischen, 904.*

- Davidson, J. and B., "Notes on the Bashgal (Kafir) language", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 71.1-1-193, extra no. 1 (1902).
- Davidson, J., "Some notes on the language of Chitral, and idiomatic sentences and ten popular stories", *Indian Antiquary* 29.214-220, 246-250 (1900).
- Drew, Frederick, *The Jammu and Kashmir territories: A geographical account* (London, 1875), (pp. 466ff. on the Pahari and Kashmiri. Language map of Kashmir) Comparative vocabulary of Pahari and Kashmiri. *Comparative map of Kashmir*.
- Edelman, D. I. *Dardic jaziki* [Dardic languages] Izdavatel'svo Nauka (Moscow, 1965).
- , *Jaziki Kashmiri* [The languages of Kashmir] to appear in the series *Jaziki narodov azii i afriki* [Languages of the Asian and African Nations].
- Edgeworth, M. P., "Grammar and vocabulary of the Kashmiri language", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 10.2.1038-1064 (1841).
- Elmslie, W. J., "List of words and phrases to be noted and used as test words for the discovery of the radical affinities of languages and for easy comparison ... translated into Kashmiri by W. J. E." *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 39.95-108 (1870).
- , *A vocabulary of the Kashmiri language*. Two parts: Kashmiri-English and English-Kashmiri (London, 1872).
- Firth, J. R., "Kashmiri" (specimen), *MPion* 3rd series, 17th year, pp. 67-68 (Oct.-Dec. 1939).
- Grierson, George A., "On the radical and participial tenses of Modern Indo-Aryan languages", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 64.1.393-421 (1895).
- , "On the phonology of the Modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars", *ZDMG* 49.50.393-421 (1895).
- , *The Karmācchādhāra, A Kashmiri grammar written in the Sanskrit language by Isara-Prāsa* (Calcutta, 1897-98).
- , "In memoriam G. Bühler On some Swat languages", *Indian Antiquary* 27.373-382 (1898).
- , *Essays on Kāshmirī grammar* (London and Calcutta, 1899).
- , "On Pashai, Laghmāni or Dabghāni", *ZDMG* 54.563-598 (1900a).
- , "On the languages spoken beyond the North-Western frontier of India", *JRAS* 501-510 (1900b).
- , "On the modern Indo-Aryan alphabets of North-Western India", *JRAS* 67-73 (1904).
- , *The Pūshā language of North-Western India*, Asiatic Society Monographs, vol. 8 (London, 1906).
- , *A manual of Kashmiri language, comprising grammar, phrase book, and vocabulary* (Oxford, 1911).
- , "Pashai, Pashai, and Modern Pashai", *ZDMG* 66.49-86 (1912).
- , "The linguistic classification of Kashmiri", *Indian Antiquary* 44.257-270 (1915).
- , "On the Sarada alphabet", *JR* 15.677-708 (1916).

- , "Specimens of the Dardic or Pūshā languages (including Kashmiri)", *LSI* 8.2 (Calcutta, 1919).
- , Barnett, L. D. (ed.), *Lulluvkhyati or the wise sayings of Lal-Dud, a mystic poetess of Ancient Kashmir*, Asiatic Society Monographs, Vol. 17 (London, 1920).
- , (ed.), *Kashmiri tales*, Indian Text Series (London, 1923).
- , (ed.), *Siva parvatiya, a poem in the Kashmiri language by Kṛṣṇa Kāṇḍaka* (Raiden), Bibliotheca Indica, Work No. 224 (Calcutta, 1914-24).
- , "On the Tirahi language", *JRAS* 405-416 (1925).
- , (ed.), *Sri-Kṛṣṇaśrīdhara-sthā composed in Kashmiri by Dina-Nātha*, Bibliotheca Indica, Work No. 247 (Calcutta, 1928).
- , *Tarvati, an account of a Dardic language of the Swat Kohistan* (Royal Asiatic Society Prize Publication Fund), vol. 11 (London, 1929).
- , (ed.), *The Kashmiri Ramāyaṇa*, Bibliotheca Indica, Work no. 253 (Calcutta, 1930).
- , (ed.), *A dictionary of the Kashmiri language compiled partly from materials left by the late Pandit Ishara Kaula* (Calcutta, 1932).
- Hamp, Eric P., "Notes on Kafir phonology", *Shabdika presentation volume* 89-100 (Lahore, 1966).
- Indicus Varior, "The Bashgal Kafir language", *Imperial and Asiatic Review*, 3rd series, 16.32 (October, 1903).
- Kachru, Braj B., *A grammatical sketch of Kashmiri* (Government of India, Calcutta, in press).
- , *A reference grammar of Kashmiri* (mimeographed).
- , "Some notes on the copulative sentences in Kashmiri", *Foundations of Language*, supplementary series on The verb 'be' and its synonyms, in press.
- Kaula, Ishara, *The Karmācchādhāra*, A Kashmiri grammar (in Sanskrit) ed. by G. A. Grierson (Calcutta, 1898).
- Kelkar, Ashok R., and Pyra Nath Trisal, "Kashmiri word phonology", in *AIL* 6-1 (1964).
- , "Kashmiri", *The languages of India* (Delhi, to appear).
- Knowles, J. Hinton, *A dictionary of Kashmiri proverbs and sayings explained and illustrated from the rich and interesting folklore of the valley* (Bombay, Calcutta, and London, 1885).
- , "Kashmiri riddles", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 56.1.125-154 (1887).
- Konow, Stein, "The home of Pūshā", *ZDMG* 64.95-118 (1910).
- , "Notes of the classification of Bashgal", *JRAS* 1-47 (1911); see also G. A. Grierson, "Notes on Dr. Stein Konow's article on Bashgal", *JRAS* 5195-197 (1911).
- , "Bashgal dictionary, an analysis of Colonel J. Davidson's notes on the Bashgal language", *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* N. S. vol. 9 (extra number) (1913).
- Koul, Anand, "The wise sayings of Nandish", *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 62 (1933).
- , "Kashmiri riddles", *Indian Antiquary* 62.21-28 (1933).

- , "Kashmiri proverbs", *Indo-Iranian Journal* 62: 71-198 (1933).
- , "Lal Ded: The wise sayings of Lal-Ded", *Indian Antiquary* 62: 119-111 (1933).
- Kupka, E., "Die Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse der Hindukush-Dialekte", *Alten Aem* 221-223 (Leiden 1903).
- Leech, R. C. B., *The languages of seven languages* (Bombay, 1838); also in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 7: 538-556 (1838).
- , "A grammar of the Cashmere language", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 13: 1397-420, 13: 253-570 (1844).
- Leitch, G. W. V., "The Dardic Sheikh Shibli: A specimen of Kashmiri, with an interlinear and a literal translation", *Indian Antiquary* 1: 266-269 (1872).
- , *The languages and races of Dardistan*, parts 1 and 2, no date, part 3 (Lahore 1873), (another edition Lahore, 1877).
- , "A sketch of the Bashgali Kafirs and of their language", *Journal of the United Service Institution of India*, No. 43 (Simla, 1880). (The language discussed is Kafir, not Bashgali).
- Lotman, D. L. R., "Phonetics of the Gilgit dialects of Shina", *JRAS* 1: 212 (1924a).
- , "The forms and nature of the transitive verb in Shina (Shina dialect)", *BSOAS* 3: 237-233 (1924b).
- , "A Census of India, 1951, vol. 1 with an introductory note on classification by R. C. N. G. Registrar General, India (Delhi, 1964). See "Introduction" note, pp. clxxv-xxvi.
- Majumdar, George, *Report on a linguistic mission to Afghanistan* (Oslo, 1926).
- , "The language of the Ashkun Kafirs", *NTS* 2: 192-289 (1929).
- , "Notes on Torwali", *AcOr* 6: 294-310 (1930).
- , "Two Pashai popular songs", *AcOr* 10: 131-42 (1931).
- , *Report on a linguistic mission to North-Western India* (Oslo, 1932).
- , "Additional notes on Ashkun", *NTS* 7: 56-115 (1935a).
- , "Further notes on Ashkun", *AcOr* 12: 3-4, 161-189 (1935b).
- , "Notes on Pashai and other Dardic languages of Chitral", *Sketches of Dardic Languages* (Lahore, 1935), 2, 116-117 (Klasse) No. 5 (1940a).
- , "Notes on Dardic, a Kafir Dardic language of Chitral", *NTS* 12: 115-198 (Oslo, 1940b).
- , "Notes on Dardic", *AcOr* 18: 3-4, 706-751 (1945a).
- , "The phonology of Kashmiri", *AcOr* 19: 1-79-89 (1945).
- , *Indo-Iranian languages*, vol. 3, *The Dardic languages* (Oslo, 1944).
- , "Notes on the Pashai Kafir", *NTS* 13: 225-238 (Oslo, 1945a).
- , "Notes on Shina", a Dardic dialect of Gilgit (Oslo, 1945b).
- , "Metathesis of liquids in Dardic", *Festschrift til Prof. Olaf Broch, Avhandlinger i Indisk og Nordisk Sprogvidenskab* Oslo 1947 (Oslo, 1947).
- , "Some aspects of Kafir morphology", *NTS* 14: 5-27 (1947b).
- , "The language of the Prasin Kafirs", *NTS* 15: 185-334 (1949).
- , "Notes on Gwar-Bait", *Skrifter utgitt av Det Norske Videnskaps Akademi i Oslo* 2 (2. Hist.-fil. Klasse, 1950), no. 1 (Oslo, 1950).
- , "Some Kashmiri and Hindu", *AcOr* 21: 3: 161-189 (1951a).
- , "Linguistic geography applied to the Dardic languages of the Hindu-Kush", *Proceedings of 2nd congress of the orientalist* 466-470 (Stockholm, 1951b).
- , "Linguistic gleanings from Nuristan", *NTS*, vol. 14 (1952).
- , "The personal pronouns first and second plural in the Dardic and Kafir languages", *IL (Gronsen Commemorative Volume)* 5: 4: 63-67 (1953).
- , "A Vedic word in some Modern Hindukush languages", In *Saripa-Bhāratī or The heritage of India*, ed. by the Dr. Leśshman Sarup memorial volume (Hoshiarpur, 1954a).
- , "The Wajigali languages", *NTS* 17: 146-324 (1954b).
- , "A Khowar tale", *IL (Chatterji Jubilee Volume)* 16: 163-169 (1955).
- , "Sanskrit words in Khowar", *Festschrift volume presented to Professor Sripad Arshap Behlkar*, ed. S. Radhakrishnan 84-98 (Banaras, 1957).
- Namus, Muhammad Shuja, "The origin of Shina language", *Pakistani Language* (1962) 55-60 (Lahore, 1962).
- O'Brien, D. J. T., *Grammar and vocabulary of the Khowar dialect (Chitral)*, with introductory sketch of country and people (Lahore, 1895).
- Overjanov, N. A., "Predvaritel'noe soobshchenie govorakh Degano Kucara", *Indijskaja i Iranskaja filologija* [Indic and Iranian philology] (Moscow, 1964).
- Pandit, Bushan Narain, *The Kashmiri companion, Gulzar-e-Kashmir* (Lahore, 1873) (in Urdu).
- Pushp, P. M., "Kashmiri", *The languages of India: A kaleidoscopic survey*, ed. V. K. Narasimhan et al. 42-47 (Madras, 1958).
- Raverty, H. G., "On the language of the Shikhar Kafirs", with a short list of words, to which are added specimens of the Kohistani, and other dialects spoken on the Northern border of Afghanistan etc., *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 33: 267-278 (1864).
- Robinson, G. S., *The Affairs of the Hindukush* (London, 1896).
- Shahdullah, M., "The languages of the Northwest frontiers of Pakistan", *Pakistani Linguistics* (1963) 37-44 (Lahore, 1964).
- Shaw, R. B., "On the Chitral languages", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 14: 1: 139-157 (1876).
- Stein, Aurel, "Notes on Tirahi: The speakers of Tirahi", *JRAS* 400-404 (Part 3, July, 1925).
- Temple, Richard C., "An examination of the trade dialect of the Naqqash or painters on paper-mache in the Punjab and Kashmir", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 53: 1-24 (1881).
- Tomasek, W., "Zentralasiatische Studien II, Die Pamir-Dialekte", *Sitzungsbe-*

- Heile der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophische Classe*  
96:735ff (Wien, 1880).
- Thiel, Paul Nath. "Kashmiri bhāṣā kṛ vārāṇāśīyā vyākaraṇ", *Bhāṣārīya Sāhitya*  
9:259-65 (April, 1964).
- , *Asāṁīrī bhāṣā kṛ vārāṇāśīyā vyākaraṇ*, Ph.D. Thesis, Agra University  
(1964).
- Trumpf, Ernest. "On the language of the so-called Kafirs of the Indian Caucasus",  
*JRAS*, vol. 19 (1862).
- , "Über die Sprache der sogenannten Kafirs im indischen Caucasus (Hindu-  
kush)", *ZDhG* 20:377-418 (1866).
- , "The languages and races of Dardistan", *Columbia Review* 34:223ff. (1872).
- Tumakovich, O. *Kraśnyia grammatika i slovar chitral'skogo jazyka* [Short grammar  
and a dictionary of the Chitrali language] (Tashkent, 1908).
- Turner, R. L., "Notes on Dardic", *BSOAS* 4:3, 533-541 (1927).
- , *A comparative dictionary of the Indo-Aryan languages*, vol. 1 (London, [1962]-  
1966).
- Ugadhye, A. N., "Punjabi language and Kashmiri Sanskrit", *Felicitation volume  
presented to Professor Sirajad Krishna Bhatnagar*, ed. Sri Radhakrishnan (Banaras,  
1957).
- Varma Siddheswar, "Newer gender in Bhadranāth", *IL* 1, Pt. 1 (1931) 55-92 (Reprint  
edition, 1966).
- , "Jachan dialects in phonetic transcription", *IL* 7:281-89 (1939).
- , "Notes on a linguistic tour of Kashmir", *IL* 8:478-483 (1940).
- , "Situations in the Kashmiri language", in *honour of Daniel Jones* (London,  
1964).
- Wade, T. R., *A Grammar of the Kashmiri language as spoken in the valley of Kashmir*,  
*Kashmir India* (London, 1888).
- Wilson J., "On the Gurezi dialect of Shina", *Indian Antiquary* 93-102 (April, 1899).
- Zainuddin, A. K. Tah, *Kashmiri e'jaṇ wad phlāsh* (in Kashmiri), (Srinagar, 1965).
- Zemstaf, G. A., *Jazyki Indii, Pakistana, Ceylona i Nepala* [The languages of India,  
Pakistan, Ceylon and Nepal] (Moscow, 1960).

## PART TWO

## DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES



linguist's studies, sociolinguistics, the analysis of social determinants of language usage, has of necessity become an integral part of South Asian linguistics.

#### SOCIAL DIALECTS

A characteristic feature of Indian society is the segmentation of populations into ethnically distinct, endogenous groups or castes. These groups are only in part territorially separate. In many instances, they coexist in what social scientists study as a single community. They hold similar religious beliefs and regularly exchange services. Yet, although they are in constant communication, they may speak distinct languages and dialects at home. Whereas, in other areas of the world, inter-group communication tends to obliterate language-differences, in India such differences appear to be in large part maintained.

Social divisions of speech are frequently mentioned in Indian literature as well as in ethnographic descriptions.<sup>3</sup> In classical Indian drama, principal characters speak Sanskrit, while Prash is the language of women and servants. Throughout much of central India, lower caste speakers of Dravidian languages like Telugu and Kannada reside deep in Indo-Aryan speaking territory. These are, furthermore, tribal areas where a typical village settlement contains speakers of three or four different languages. Even monolingual areas often show significant differences in social dialect. The first systematic treatment of these differences derives from the writing of early British linguists.<sup>4</sup>

During the last decade, structural linguists have turned to empirical studies of the problem. Field studies in North Indian villages reveal important phonological isoglosses separating the speech of untouchables from that of touchable castes.<sup>5</sup> South Indian Brahmin dialects differ from non-Brahmin dialects both in phonology and in such morphological features as pronominal shape of grammatical markers, function words and in systems of greetings and forms of address.<sup>6</sup> It has further

been suggested that these purely linguistic distinctions may be paralleled by distinctions in cognitive structures.<sup>7</sup>

Bright and Ramamujan, in a series of articles, compare present-day social dialects with material from earlier stages, noting that different dialects have employed different sources of innovation.<sup>8</sup> Brahmin Kannada is resistant to phonological and grammatical change in native forms, although it readily accepts both phonological and lexical borrowings from other literary languages. Non-Brahmin dialects, on the other hand, are less affected by foreign borrowings, but show more change in native phonology and grammar. The authors go on to state that the former process indicates conscious innovation, whereas the latter represents subconscious innovation, presumably affecting the internalized linguistic patterns. Evidence from Tulu, an adjoining Dravidian language, on the other hand, shows that both Brahmin and non-Brahmins innovate unconsciously, whereas conscious innovation is confined largely to Brahmins. Since Kannada Brahmins are literate in Kannada whereas Tulu has no literature, the difference between the two cases is explained by suggesting that it is the literacy of Kannada Brahmins which retards linguistic change.

A further comparison of educated Brahmin and non-Brahmin speech in Tamil by Ramamujan again shows that non-Brahmin Tamil has changed in the direction of simplifying inflectional paradigms and reducing the morphophonemic irregularities of the older language.<sup>9</sup> Brahmin speech, on the other hand, tends to favor those innovations which set it off from non-Brahmin speech. Language here serves as a symbol of distinctness in much the same way as do differences in dress and markings on the forehead.

P. B. Pandit deals with social differences in the pronunciation of Sanskrit loan words as used by educated speakers in Miranhi and Gujarati.<sup>10</sup> He shows that three-sonant clusters such as the *kai* of educated Gujarati *bhaskar* 'devotee', a Sanskrit loan word, are found neither in the inherited vernacular vocabulary nor in the original Sanskrit source. Hence he concludes that these and similar clusters are neologisms motivated by the desire of the hierarchy elite to keep their speech distinct. However, while in South India the desire for distinctness seems to be a characteristic of Brahmins, here it seems to affect all educated groups regardless of caste or origin.

Problems such as those above have raised many questions regarding the nature

<sup>3</sup> P. M. McIntyre, *Melior* (T. P. *Mitraschubdram* romanization volume) 434-446 (1961); William Bright and A. K. Ramamujan, *A study of Tamil dialects* (Madras, Committee on South Asian Studies, University of Chicago 1962).

<sup>4</sup> M. S. Prasad, "Caste speech in Karnataka", *MLJ* 7: 39-66 (1965); W. J. van der Meer, "Language and social structure in Karnataka", *MLJ* 7: 39-66 (1965); W. J. van der Meer, "Language and social structure in Karnataka", *MLJ* 7: 39-66 (1965).

<sup>5</sup> W. J. van der Meer, "Social structure and language change in Karnataka", in J. A. C. G. van der Meer, *Language and social structure in Karnataka* (The Hague, 1965).

<sup>6</sup> A. K. Ramamujan, "Social structure and language change in Karnataka", in J. A. C. G. van der Meer, *Language and social structure in Karnataka* (The Hague, 1965).

<sup>7</sup> A. K. Ramamujan, "Social structure and language change in Karnataka", in J. A. C. G. van der Meer, *Language and social structure in Karnataka* (The Hague, 1965).

<sup>8</sup> W. J. van der Meer, "Social structure and language change in Karnataka", in J. A. C. G. van der Meer, *Language and social structure in Karnataka* (The Hague, 1965).

<sup>9</sup> W. J. van der Meer, "Social structure and language change in Karnataka", in J. A. C. G. van der Meer, *Language and social structure in Karnataka* (The Hague, 1965).

<sup>10</sup> P. B. Pandit, "Sanskrit clusters and caste dialects", *MLJ* 7: 70-80 (1965).



badly and local poetry. Urdu was spoken in bazars and in army camps, while merchants and certain artisan groups used a number of special codes to disguise their activities from outsiders. In a linguistic situation as complex as this, few individuals could command the necessary skills to deal directly with all possible manners of communication to them. An ordinary individual commonly knew both his own dialect and the language of the bazaar, but even if he was literate in one style, he was not necessarily able to read or write in the other. Book-keepers, accountants or religious leaders, for example, such matters, he had to engage the services of specialist groups. For these specialist groups, the language served as a source of livelihood, to be guarded from outsiders and treated in some way that a medieval guild might have protected its trade secrets.

Since the fifteenth century, Persian and the modern vernaculars had a reduced status in the literary and official languages, yet, some degree of continuity in the nature of literary and official languages remained. In general, Persian and Persianized Urdu were the literary and official languages of the elite, and Persianized Urdu was the language of the middle class. Persian and Persianized Urdu were the languages of the elite, and Persianized Urdu was the language of the middle class. Persian and Persianized Urdu were the languages of the elite, and Persianized Urdu was the language of the middle class.

The two languages, Persian and Persianized Urdu, were the languages of the elite, and Persianized Urdu was the language of the middle class. Persian and Persianized Urdu were the languages of the elite, and Persianized Urdu was the language of the middle class. Persian and Persianized Urdu were the languages of the elite, and Persianized Urdu was the language of the middle class.

The two languages, Persian and Persianized Urdu, were the languages of the elite, and Persianized Urdu was the language of the middle class. Persian and Persianized Urdu were the languages of the elite, and Persianized Urdu was the language of the middle class. Persian and Persianized Urdu were the languages of the elite, and Persianized Urdu was the language of the middle class.

and a systematic literacy and colloquial styles created the impression of an abrupt break.

Knowledge of standard languages in India is still relatively limited, when compared with other parts of the world. Literacy is relatively low, and is still partly a function of class and caste. In effect, most people are still bilingual, speaking their own dialects at home and the standard language with certain outsiders. Control of the standard language is not person to person, those who have little occasion to leave their village or farm estate may know only a few words, while others may be perfectly bilingual. There are indications that as urbanization increases, standard languages are also spreading. But so far we have no empirical study of this process of spread. One from the Indian census, which does give language information, is somewhat unsatisfactory, partly because of the way in which questions are asked, and because local political pressures tend to colour informants' responses. Kelly's study of the spread of Hindi, in non-Hindi speaking areas makes a beginning. Certainly more work is required to document and predict the spread of standard languages.

Although the present situation with respect to superposed variation is considerably less complex than that of a few centuries ago, still the diversity on the whole is still greater than in most of the industrial societies of the West. In the latter, there is a single literary language which serves all communication needs. In the former, there are many different standards by which to judge speech performance. Although contextual speech differences exist, these tend to be associated with particular dialects and with particular phonetic variants. In India, on the other hand, the same association between social context and language form necessitates several standards to judge speech performance.

In any situation of linguistic diversity, the description of how, when, and where particular varieties are used presents a major problem. During the last few years, linguists have begun to make systematic attempts to deal with some of the issues involved here. Unfortunately, there is little in the way of formal description of the types for Indian languages. Most descriptions so far take the form of incidental comments. Particular speech varieties are said to occur in certain settings — i.e., in the home, in the market place, in the office — or in talking to particular types of speakers — i.e., upper class, lower class, etc. If the association between linguistic form and social situation is as strong as has been suggested above, more formal study of these varieties would be of utmost importance. It could well be that just as we seem to preserve distinctions in social dialect more than do cities, so also

<sup>1</sup> See L. A. Brown, p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> See G. L. Bailey, 'The status of Hindi as a lingua franca', in W. J. B. Bhat (ed.), *South Asian Languages* (1964), p. 135.

<sup>3</sup> See for example, H. Choudhury, 'The language problem in East Pakistan', *Language in India* (1964), p. 115. See also G. L. Bailey, 'The status of Hindi as a lingua franca', in W. J. B. Bhat (ed.), *South Asian Languages* (1964), p. 135.



The synchronic aspects of multi-language diffusion can have begun to be explored in a series of studies of code-switching in multilingual communities in India.<sup>39</sup> Techniques derived from linguistic study, of machine translation were applied to the comparison of the perfect bilinguals' performance, first in Hindi-Urdu, and later on in Urdu, of Karnataka and Alavahi. The results show that varieties spoken by these informants are identical in constituent structure and at the level of phonemes. They differ in the morphophonemic realization of shared morphemes.

Although the results of these studies are still preliminary, they raise a number of questions about the susceptibility of language to social influences. Since Dravidian and Indo-European languages are genetically unrelated, we must assume that at some time they were syntactically quite distinct, and that the present similarity is the result of language contact over time. The data would seem to indicate that, contrary to what we could expect from recent writings in linguistic theory,<sup>46</sup> both deep and surface structures have been affected, while the level of morphophonemes shows the greatest amount of conservatism.

There is a big studies of this type raise some important questions about the relation of particular languages to particular cultures. If it is possible for two genetically unrelated languages to show the same syntactic structure, how does it affect our usual view of bilinguals as marginals between two cultures? Such studies may also have some important implications for practical language policy in India. It has been argued that the diversity of South Asian languages is such as to constitute serious impediments to communication. In the circumstance of such difficulties, it would seem that the study of transactability is more important than considerations of genetic similarity.

THE SEMANTICS OF KINSHIP IN  
SOUTH INDIA AND CEYLON<sup>1</sup>

NUR YALMAN

5

It is now commonplace in modern philosophy to say that metaphysics follows closely the contours of our language. A corollary of this, rarely examined by philosophers, must be that the metaphysics of different cultures must be as different as their different languages. And not only this, but if patterns of thought are related to languages and culture, it then becomes sensible to think of the structure of customary thought as being different among different peoples. However, even though the theory may develop in this direction, it is also clear that, in practice, for most purposes, the differences between the metaphysics of other cultures and the metaphysics of the West are too subtle and too difficult for the task of analysis to be lightly undertaken. Superficially a cow is a cow, and a tree is a tree; and though the semantic fields may differ between English cows and Shakespearean *etudards*, it is generally agreed that they refer to the same object 'out there'.

It is in the area of kinship that this question becomes particularly susceptible to controversy. In this field, customary patterns of nomenclature and categorization vary widely from one culture to another, and it is obvious that they differ from one generation to the next in the same culture. It is true that all cultures retain great strength in different cultures, and it is obvious that they differ from one generation to the next in the same culture.

But what is it precisely that differs? The organization of the family is different, the culture to culture. And indeed, differences in the structure of household, in the way in which it is organized, in the behavior of its members, and so on in other words, the empirical facts 'out there' are different. Hence, it is only natural to suppose that nomenclature and categorization should be homologous to empirical group organization. This raises no problems in

[illegible]

I had the privilege of reading an early version of the paper at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes. I wish to record my gratitude to the Faculty upon the occasion of Professor Louis Duménil's visit to the Indian Studies Group at Cambridge. I have greatly enjoyed his visit, and his paper on the history of the 'Caste' in India. Duménil has brought to the attention of the Faculty a number of papers which will be of great interest to the Indian Studies Group. I am particularly grateful to him for his paper on the history of the 'Caste' in India. Duménil has brought to the attention of the Faculty a number of papers which will be of great interest to the Indian Studies Group. I am particularly grateful to him for his paper on the history of the 'Caste' in India.



period under review. Some of these projects deserve a close look, firstly, because they may have special significance for other developing countries, and secondly, because, as Keith Callard said Pakistan is "often treated as an appendix to the study of India" and generally speaking there is a tendency among Western scholars to bracket Pakistani languages with Indian languages. For example, in spite of the fact that more than half of the Bengali speakers live in East Pakistan the attention of scholars of Bengali is more often than not directed toward Calcutta rather than Dacca, and East Pakistan is viewed as the "cultural hinterland of Calcutta rather than as a province of Pakistan".<sup>3</sup>

### 2. PULVINDEPENDENCE PERIOD 1904-7

A. Muhammad Shah, dilah (1885- ), the grand old man of Pakistani linguistics, was the first student to get a Master's degree in comparative philology (1912) from the University of Calcutta—the first university to start a linguistic programme in the British Empire. In 1919, he joined the Department of Bengali of Calcutta University as Research Assistant and developed a series of lectures on "Historical grammar of the Bengali language" in which he dealt at length with historical and comparative methods of linguistic analysis and presented his research on the Bengali language. His first lecture in the series was published in the *Journal of the Department of Letters* (1920). In 1921, he joined the University of Dacca as Lecturer in Bengali. His researches regarding George A. Grierson's reconstruction of the Apabhramsha dialects of Razza-Sarira, published in *Indian Air-guany* (1922-23), brought Shahidullah's research to the attention of leading scholars of the time. Grierson's reply, published along with Shahidullah's note (1924), acknowledged the value of his findings. His famous study "Etymologies of kubbha, y/ugha, y/cap, geyya, and laghulo in the Prakrits of Asoka" (1925) showed his remarkable linguistic insight. In "Magadhi Prakrit and Bengali" (1925) he attempted to trace the origin of Bengali to Old Indo-Aryan through the Gaudhi Prakrit. In this study, Shahidullah disagreed with Grierson, Herbert S. K. Chatterji, and other authorities. Shahidullah's findings were later supported by A. B. Keith and others. From Dacca he started a scholarly journal, *Prace*, in which his "Indian loanwords in Arabic" (1925) was published. Next year he took study leave from his University and went to France for higher studies. He carried on his linguistic studies at the Archives de la Parole, Sorbonne, and in 1928 became the first Asian to receive the Diplôme de Phonétique Expérimentale for his dissertation, *Les sons du bengali*. In this interesting study he used the techniques of auditory, palatal and direct observation. The monograph, though a somewhat dated

now in view of more recent research in speech analysis, has historical significance and is included in *Selected writings of Muhammad Shahidullah*, now awaiting publication by the Linguistic Research Group of Pakistan (LRGP). In 1928, he received his doctorate de l'Université de Paris ( très honorable) in Indology, returned to the Dacca University and began a long and most productive career in philological and linguistic studies.<sup>4</sup> In 1933, in his "The first Aryan colonisation of Ceylon", he presented the view that the Sinhalese language is descended from the Eastern Branch of Middle Indo-Aryan. Wilhelm Geiger, in his *Grammar of the Sinhalese language* (1938), criticised Shahidullah's view favoring the theory that it is to be traced to the Western Branch. Shahidullah followed up this discussion in a later paper.

In 1944 he retired from Dacca University and became Principal of A. H. College, Bogra, continuing his work on Bengali language and oriental studies. He was in close contact with his friend S. K. Chatterji,<sup>5</sup> of the University of Calcutta, who had received his doctorate from the University of London in 1921 for his excellent dissertation, *The origin and development of the Bengali language*, which was published by the University of Calcutta in 1926. Chatterji's *Bhaskar prakasha bangla vyakaran* (1939) and *Bangla bhasa taittiriya bhutika* (1940), *Languages and the linguistic problem* (1944), were followed by other excellent contributions to Bengali and other languages of the sub-continent. Shahidullah at Dacca and Chatterji at Calcutta were in the forefront of philological and linguistic studies in the country. P. C. D. Chowdhury's "Word frequency in Bengali and its relation to the teaching of reading" was published in the *Dacca University Bulletin* in 1931. S. C. Chaudhuri's "Notes on Rangpur dialect" and a number of other valuable studies were conducted during

<sup>3</sup> His famous article "Outlines of an historical grammar of the Bengali language", *Journal of the Department of Letters* 335-364 (University of Calcutta, 1920). "The Apabhramsha dialects, of Razza-Sarira, a few suggestions", *Indian Antiquary* (1924). "Magadhi Prakrit and Bengali", *Indian Air-guany* 473-482 (September, 1925). "Etymologies of kubbha, y/ugha, y/cap, geyya, and laghulo in the Prakrits of Asoka", *Indian Historical Quarterly* 1: 98-102 (1925). *Les sons du bengali* (Unpublished dissertation on experimental phonetics submitted to the Archives de la Parole, University of Sorbonne, 1925) (French). The sounds of Bengali studied with an artificial pronunciation, translated into English and included in *Selected writings of Muhammad Shahidullah*, now incorporated into English and included in *Selected writings of Muhammad Shahidullah*, published by the Linguistic Research Group of Pakistan, Lahore, 1964. "Wonders of Bengali", *Proceedings of the 11th All-India Oriental Conference* 715-721 (1931). "Indo-European 'y' in Sanskrit and Avestan", *Indian Historical Quarterly* (1933). "The first Aryan colonisation of Ceylon", *Indian Proceedings of the 11th All-India Oriental Conference* 715-721 (1931). "Presidential Address at the 11th All-India Oriental Conference, XI Session, Hyderabad, December 1941". "Scientific study of the Sanskrit language", *Pakistan Journal*, 1: 223-228 (October, 1944).

<sup>4</sup> Chatterji, Sumit Kumar, *The origin and development of the Bengali language*, 2 vols. (Calcutta, 1926). *A Bengali primer* (London, 1928). "Calcutta dissertation: a study of a young dialect", *Indian Linguistics* 1: 2-4 (5) (1931). "Recent views in New Indo-Aryan", *Indian Linguistics* 1: 1-15 (4) (1931). *Bhasa prakasha bangla vyakaran* (Calcutta, 1939) (Bengali). An introduction to Bengali language.

<sup>5</sup> A. B. Keith and P. C. D. Chowdhury, "North American Research for S. C. Dil on Bengali and the Bengali language", *Indian Linguistics* 7: 105-110 (1939).

this period. The great services of Sh. Iqbal and Chatterji in promoting Urdu studies in the sub-continent are widely recognised.

It is a pity that the Urdu language has not been the nerve centre of international scholarship. Urdu is a language which has been the nerve centre of international scholarship. Urdu is a language which has been the nerve centre of international scholarship. Urdu is a language which has been the nerve centre of international scholarship.

Hafiz Mahmood Sharif of the University of Calcutta, who was a leading figure in Urdu linguistics. His book, *Panjab me Urdu* (1925) had a storm of controversy among language scholars throughout the sub-continent. A number of valuable studies have been published as a result of Sharif's book which has affirmed the status of Urdu as a model work of linguistic scholarship. Sharif's theory was that Urdu is more closely related to Panjabi than to Hindi. His evidence showed that both Urdu and Panjabi follow similar syntactic and grammatical developments. Urdu possesses certain elements which can be explained only by studying Modern Panjabi, and that some of these elements do not exist in any other language.

Benarsi Das had received his doctorate in 1911 in the University of London for his work on the phonology of Panjabi. He was a pioneer in the study of Panjabi. He was a pioneer in the study of Panjabi. He was a pioneer in the study of Panjabi. He was a pioneer in the study of Panjabi.

Benarsi Das had received his doctorate in 1911 in the University of London for his work on the phonology of Panjabi. He was a pioneer in the study of Panjabi. He was a pioneer in the study of Panjabi. He was a pioneer in the study of Panjabi. He was a pioneer in the study of Panjabi.

monograph on the Urdu language. The Urdu language and Indo-Aryan languages also appeared regularly in leading British and Indian scholarly journals. Gerson's writings and the review literature on his work alone would make an excellent collection.

In the midst of so much activity, the need for a national forum for linguists and language scholars was generally recognised. The linguists at Lahore took the initiative and organized the inaugural meeting of the Linguistic Society of India at the residence of Principal Woolner. This historic meeting was held on April 1, 1928, and was attended by prominent linguists and language scholars from all over the Punjab. Gauri Shankar of the Government College was elected as Honorary Secretary of the Society. The first general meeting, held in November, attracted participation by leading linguists from all over the country. It was decided at this conference to start a research journal with Society sponsorship. The first issue of *IL* did not appear, however, until 1931, by which time nine typed and cyclostyled bulletins of the Society had been published. Woolner, who had since become Vice-Chancellor of Punjab University, was Chairman of the Editorial Board.

The great prestige and influence enjoyed by Gerson and his comprehensive work in the languages of the sub-continent is evident in the *Grierson commemorative volume* published in 1936 by the Linguistic Society of India. The papers written for this volume included among others those by A. B. Keith, V. V. Vaidya, and A. N. S. Chatterji's "The oldest grammar of Hindi-Urdu: Shukar's *Pravara* in Dogri", Sukumar Sen's "The verb substantive in Bengali", B. N. Katiya's "Formative affixes in Assamese", and G. Morgenstern's "The personal pronouns, first and second plural in the Dardic and Kafir languages".

Volume 1 (Parts 1-6) of *IL* (1931) included such valuable studies as Chatterji's "Recursive in New Indo-Aryan" and "Calcutta Hindustani — a study of a jargon language", Shankar's "A short sketch of Dogri dialect", and Varma's "Bharatavasi".

Unfortunately, Vice-Chancellor Woolner's death in 1936 deprived the Society and the journal of an influential supporter. During the Ninth All-India Oriental Conference held at Trivandrum in 1937 it was decided to transfer the headquarters of the Society and the journal to Calcutta, where linguistic studies were a regular part of the University of Calcutta curriculum. Chatterji became editor of the journal beginning with Volume 7.

The beginning of World War II in 1939 and the national freedom movement in the country made the following years all the more difficult for linguistic studies. By the time India and Pakistan gained freedom in 1947 both the Society and the journal were in a disbanding state.

Varma, S. Adityanar Chatterji, Gauri Shankar, Gauri (eds.), *The Grierson commemorative volume* (Lahore 1936).

made in 1915 at Hyderabad, Deccan, had introduced Urdu as the medium of instruction at all levels. Narayana is opened up a whole new field of linguistic work for Urdu scholars. The Jamia established a Translation Bureau in 1916 and soon the problem of technical terminology became a focus of linguistic attention. Nawab Sir Asaf Ali Khan was doing his guiding principles for translators and the contemporary scholarly work of Mulla Wahid-Din Sami set the stage for future work. Scientific and technical terminology from English into Urdu also required a critical work on the subject was Mulla Wahid-Din Sami set the stage for future work. *Asaf Ali Khan* is in which this distinguished scholar at Jamia Millia Islamia presented a new series in Urdu language. Among the most significant publications on this subject is *Urdu Grammar* by Mulla Zafar-Rahman of Delhi. This two-volume book contains more than 15,000 words and terms going right up to about

665

valuable research studies on Urdu language and literature. The files of *Urdu* are full of sponsored the publication of another quarterly journal *Sirriyat*, to contribute to scientific literature. Abdul Hugi *Standard English-Urdu dictionary* was also the work of the Arguman.

Platt's and Felix's dictionaries, *Fahing-I-A-Hie* and *Aural Nighar* were the only available dictionaries of the Urdu language. After Amir Nizam's death, his *Arzvi* Urdu's dictionary plan was different from these in that his work was concerned especially with the origin and etymology of words which were not so well-handled earlier. Also, emphasis on technical and scientific terms was a special feature. The Editorial Committee included Abdul Sattar Siddiqi, Prof. Brij Mohan Duttan, K. S. Tyagi and H. S. Mirza.

Syed Ghulam Mubiyud Din's *Hand san phan* ed. London in 1930.

Qui Sicut Cuiuslibet Mithridatis, etc. *Histories Philosophicae* (London, 1930)

contributions made by a great number of Western scholars in the field of Urdu studies. Pakistan deserves a better representation in the world of Urdu studies. The present-day Urdu scholars deserve a better representation in the world of Urdu studies. The present-day Urdu scholars deserve a better representation in the world of Urdu studies.

On his classic eleven-volume *LSI* (1901-28) and his *Urdu Language* (1916-22), includes a number of important contributions in Urdu studies. The present-day Urdu scholars deserve a better representation in the world of Urdu studies. The present-day Urdu scholars deserve a better representation in the world of Urdu studies.

George's work in progress, *Urdu in Gujarat*, which is now in the hands of the printer, will be published soon.

*Urdu in Gujarat* (1902). The first volume of the series, *Urdu in Gujarat*, was published in 1902. It is a comprehensive study of the Urdu language in Gujarat. The second volume, *Urdu in Gujarat*, was published in 1903. It is a comprehensive study of the Urdu language in Gujarat. The third volume, *Urdu in Gujarat*, was published in 1904. It is a comprehensive study of the Urdu language in Gujarat.

contributions made by a great number of Western scholars in the field of Urdu studies. Pakistan deserves a better representation in the world of Urdu studies. The present-day Urdu scholars deserve a better representation in the world of Urdu studies.

On his classic eleven-volume *LSI* (1901-28) and his *Urdu Language* (1916-22), includes a number of important contributions in Urdu studies. The present-day Urdu scholars deserve a better representation in the world of Urdu studies. The present-day Urdu scholars deserve a better representation in the world of Urdu studies.

George's work in progress, *Urdu in Gujarat*, which is now in the hands of the printer, will be published soon.

*Urdu in Gujarat* (1902). The first volume of the series, *Urdu in Gujarat*, was published in 1902. It is a comprehensive study of the Urdu language in Gujarat. The second volume, *Urdu in Gujarat*, was published in 1903. It is a comprehensive study of the Urdu language in Gujarat. The third volume, *Urdu in Gujarat*, was published in 1904. It is a comprehensive study of the Urdu language in Gujarat.

7. Muhammad Shahidullah retired in 1944 from the University of Dacca, where he had served since 1923. After his retirement he became Principal of A. H. College Begra, but the University needed his services so he rejoined the Department of Bengali in 1946 and helped in reorganising it in the changed circumstances after the partition of Bengal in 1947. When a new university was established at Rajshahi its services were acquired by the University of Rajshahi in 1955. There he organised attention to his field of study. Shahidullah's publications are *The Bengali Language*, *Oriental Conference on Labour* (in 1956), *Purification of Bengali* (1948, 1956, 1957) show his profound knowledge of the language and literature. His article "Prakrit and Aryan" in which he described Prakrit as descended not from the Vedic or Sanskrit but from an Indo-Aryan form which Shahidullah named "Proto-Prakrit". This Proto-Prakrit is to all modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars and the vocabulary which are common to them alike, without being derived from Sanskrit, jāyeta jayati, or Hindi Prakrit, *lāṭhe lāṭhi phāṭe*.

In 1958 Shahidullah died.

series of five volumes was called by the Urdu Development Board at Karachi for publication. During this period he became interested in the role of linguistic research in dictionary compilation. Besides working on the dictionary project, he wrote a number of articles highlighting the common origin and linguistic affinities of Urdu and Bengali (1959a-c). This led some ideas of the productivity of this great Pakistan scholar, who knows more languages than any other working linguist on the sub-continent.

In 1960 he joined the Bengali Academy at Dacca as Chief Editor of the three-part comprehensive dictionary of the Bengali language. This project (described elsewhere in this paper) was finished in 1963. Since January, 1964, this five-fold *Bowen* His *Bangla bhasa-samgraha* has been busy as Chief Editor of the *Encyclopedia of Islam* in Frankfurt, and now through the origin of Bengali to modern times. An important feature of this work is that it is a number of volumes. Shindler's *Prakrit*, as has been done by S. K. Chatterji in 1956 the *Prakrit* of the *Prakrit* in morphology.

**Since Award:** The Linguistic Research Group of Pakistan presented him with the Lifetime Achievement Award during the First Pakistan Conference on Linguistics, held at Lahore in December, 1993. The LRGF has just published its *Shahidul Hameed Award Volume* in which, besides seven Pakistanis, it includes A. Ferguson, Herbert Paul, Eric P. H. Reber and Christian T. Hogg. It is from U.S.A., S.K. Chatterji (from

India. Hermann Berger from Germany, and Salih J. Al-Toma from Iraq have contributed specially written linguistic papers on Bengali and other Pakistani languages. Selected writings of *Muhammad Shadidullah*, a collection of his major language papers, is in press.

and Saskia, University of Dacca, received his linguistic training under J. R. Firth at the London School of Oriental and African Studies, from which he received his Master's degree in phonology and phonetics in 1957. His thesis (1961, 1960), has earned favourable reviews and is certainly one of the best studies of the behaviour of Bengali sounds with a nasal modulation. It raises, according to Firth, "fundamental questions of phonetic and phonological theory". The thesis is built round the work of (1948), "Word final grams and articulations" (1948), and "Improved techniques in phonology and x-rayography" (1950). Since his return from England, Ha has helped in developing interest in language and linguistic studies among his students in the University, library, which today has more titles on the subject than any other Pakistani university. In 1957, Ha, attended the Language-Teaching Conference at Karachi (described in detail elsewhere). However, when a Language Conference at University was set up at Lahore in 1959, its counterpart at Dacca was not established and thus a good opportunity was lost for organising linguistic studies at the University of Dacca. I believe that if Dacca had started a Language Unit its fate would have been different from that of the Lahore Unit. Ha, however, availed himself of the opportunity to attend the Linguistic Institutes at Madras (1957) and Mysore (1958) as a member of the faculty. Also, he helped a number of his younger colleagues in his department to go to England and the U.S.A. for studies in modern linguistics. For his own work he published a number of interesting papers on Bengali phonology in both in Bengali and English. His "Aspiration in Standard Bengali" (HJL, 1958) is perhaps his best short paper. In collaboration with W. J. Bat of the British Council, Dacca, he produced *The sound structures of English and Bengali* (HJL, 1958) is a piece of work on the phonetic and phonological level and should be helpful in teaching Bengali to English speakers and English to Bengali speakers. (1961). This is a good as more or less a summing up of his work on Bengali phonetics and phonology, temporary linguistics. These should be of great value to native workers in contemporary linguistics. Ha is a member of the Advisory Council of the L.R.C.P. and publishes regularly in the *Pakistan Linguistics series*. His studies on the Dacca, Chittagong, and Sylhet dialects of Bengali are included in recent volumes. Ha collaborated with Panjab Alomtar Chowdhury (1926- ) received his Master's degree in Linguistics from Harvard University in 1958. A co-author with Charles A. Ferguson he published "The phonemics of Bengali" (1960), one of the best papers yet to appear on the subject.

the language

return to Pakistan

the language

the language

the language

the language

the language

the language

the language

the language

the language

the language

the language

the language

the language

the language

the language

the language

the language

the language

the language

the language

the language

the language

the language

the language

the language

the language

the language

the language

the language

the language

the language

the language

the language

the language

the language

the language

the language

the language

the language

the language

the language

the language

the language

the language

the language

the language

the language

the language

the language

the language

mar Sen of India is regarded very highly. Chatterji's great contribution to Bengali language and linguistics were recognised by the LRGCP, which awarded him an Honorary Life Membership in 1963. Chatterji has since contributed a valuable paper, "Some Iranian and Turki loans in Sanskrit" (1966) to a recent publication of the LRGCP.

The only other foreign scholar to have been awarded an Honorary Life Membership by the LRGCP is Charles A. Ferguson, who participated in the Second Pakistan Conference of Linguists held at Lahore in January, 1964. His writings<sup>2</sup> are held in high esteem in Pakistan. He has contributed a paper each in *Pakistan Linguistics* (1963) and *Shaf-ad-din presentation volume*. The LRGCP is planning to publish a volume of his papers on the Bengali language.

Unfortunately, the valuable researches of E. M. Bakhva, B. M. Karpashkin, Z. A. Cherkina, I. A. Stevovidova, and their colleagues in the U.S.S.R. are not available to Pakistani linguists, mainly because of the language barrier.

5. The Bengali Academy established in 1957 has been very active in the field of linguistic projects. Syed Ali Akbar (1922- ) the energetic Director of the Academy, has successfully guided the linguistic training of Shahidullah, Hai, and the group of linguists at the University of Dacca. The major project of the Academy has been the compilation of a comprehensive dictionary in three parts: *A diachronic dictionary of East Pakistan*, *Functional Bengali dictionary*, and *An encyclopaedia of Bengali literature*. For the dialect dictionary, 450 collectors were employed in each of the districts of East Pakistan and thus over 150,000 words, phrases, and idioms were collected. The Editorial Board headed by Shahidullah sifted this collection and retained 75,000 for compilation. So far two parts covering the vowel portion and over half of the consonant portion have been published. S. K. Chatterji and other experts have praised this work highly.

Work on the preparation of *Functional Bengali dictionary* is in progress and materials are being collected by the Academy. So far about 2,000 words have been collected. Special attention is given in this dictionary to: 1) new words that have not been recorded in other dictionaries, 2) well-known Arabic and Persian words used in the gradual changes in meaning, sound, and spelling.

Some time back the Academy set up a committee of experts for suggesting reforms in the Bengali alphabet. The Committee has since recommended a number of reforms in the spelling system. These suggestions are being considered for implementation.

Another interesting project of the Academy is the sample survey conducted on the Pattern of Bengali vocabulary from 1740 to 1864 A.D. The purpose of the survey was to discover general linguistic characteristics of the compositions of writers belonging to different religious denominations during a particular period of history. The use of words, semantic variations, word frequencies, and socio-cultural reasons for the use of certain types of words by authors belonging to different religious orders revealed certain patterns of vocabulary and general tendencies in these writings. Statistical analysis of the findings was made by a professional statistician. The survey results are now available in *Patterns of Bengali vocabulary: 1740-1864* (1964).

In addition to Shahidullah (1955a, 1955b), Hai (1954b), and *Patterns of Bengali vocabulary: 1740-1864*, the Academy has published Shiva Prasanna Lahiry (1963). Lahiry is Professor of Bengali at the Government Carmichael College, Rangpur. His book describes the characteristics of the Sylheti dialect of Bengali. The Academy publishes a quarterly journal in Bengali in which articles and reviews of linguistic interests, mostly on the Bengali language, are published.

6. The Central Board for Development of Bengali, Dacca, was established in 1962 on the recommendation of the Commission on National Education in its *Report* (1959). Muhammad Ehsanul Haq, a senior scholar of the Bengali language, is its Director. The Board has played a number of projects, e.g., translation of technical terms in Bengali, standardization of a keyboard for Bengali typewriters, and the preparation of Bengali-Urdu and Urdu-Bengali dictionaries.

The major project of the Board from our point of view is the translation and standardization of technical terms. According to a recent statement issued by the Director of the Board, in science subjects over 24,000 scientific words out of a selected list of 36,000, and in arts subjects over 16,000 words out of a list of 33,000 words and terms from English have been already translated. This is closely linked with recent statements by Vice-Chancellor M. O. Chatterji that the University of Dacca proposes to introduce Bengali as medium of instruction in the first year of the graduate class from the academic session of 1968-69. (More information on linguistic projects of the Board was not available at the time this was written).

7. The University of Rajshahi had nothing to report in the field of language studies. Vice-Chancellor Muhammad Shamsul Haq is, however, interested in introducing linguistic studies and research programmes in the University when proper arrangements can be made.

B. Urdu

1. To the University of Oriental College, Lahore, goes credit for taking bold and imaginative steps in carrying on the good tradition of linguistic studies on Urdu, Persian, and Arabic, for which this institution is known throughout the world. The excellent journal of the college, with its international readership, owed its success mainly to Sherkh Muhammad Iqbal, Maulvi Muhammad Shah, Syed Muhammad Abdullah, and other dedicated members of the faculty.

Hammar, and a Mr. Ludwig, representing the latter, who addressed the historical gathering were by Sir Abd-1 Qadir, and among those who were present, the Vice-Chancellor of Omdurman.

Wudu Pakistan, established with head-  
quarters in 1949. Mufti Abdul Haq was

1957. *Dr. K. Acharya* Here efforts have been made to establish a research center for the study of the history of the region.

and Fazlur Rahman is correct as if there would be no problem in making Urdu the official language of the country, as it is the mother tongue of the majority of the population. But several factors complicated the issue and a mass

[illegible]

situation, as to a "mini" level, occupied by the other linguistic controversy that engaged the attention of language

perhaps not  
the first Urdu dictionary by Siraj-ud  
but it was published

ing Urdu as the national and official language.<sup>10</sup> "Ezra-Urdu" has been associated with him in some Hindu in 1961, the title "Ezra-Urdu" has been associated with him in some of the West Pakistan Urdu Academy, which some

*Civilization* has grown with the years. A part from its longevity it has grown with the years. Apart from its longevity it has grown with the years. Apart from its longevity it has grown with the years.

of this paper

This report has since been submitted to SEAIO and the CSO. This report has since been submitted to SEAIO and the CSO. This report has since been submitted to SEAIO and the CSO.

and area studies is an...  
developing linguistic studies in the area.  
today is closely associated with several linguistic projects of the Central Board for

Siddiqui is closely associated with *Journal of the American Asiatic Society*. He was a member of the editorial board of the journal from 1940 to 1942. He was also a member of the editorial board of the *Journal of the American Asiatic Society* from 1940 to 1942. He was also a member of the editorial board of the *Journal of the American Asiatic Society* from 1940 to 1942.

the Devet, Director of Urdu, Lahore. His *Burayd ul-Urdū*, patterned on R. A. Richards' *Basic English*, was published early in 1966. He is Editor of the proposed *Comprehensive Urdu Grammar* and an up-to-date history of the evolution of the Urdu language. Siddiq expects in the near future to complete his work on a course of four lessons for teaching Urdu as a second language. The course is planned to include a series of tapes and slides.

4. Shaukat Sabzwari (1908- ) after his return from Meerut, India, joined the University of Dacca faculty as Lecturer in Urdu. He received his Ph.D. degree from the University for his work on the origin and development of Urdu. Later he became Editor of the *Conference of Urdu*. Under his leadership Urdu has become a Board, Karachi. The Project is still in progress and is described elsewhere in the paper. Sabzwari is essentially an etymologist with special interest in historical and comparative linguistics. He has a good knowledge of Persian, Arabic, Sanskrit and Prakrit. He is a great writer and his articles frequently appear in *Urdu*, *Nishti*, *Qasim Zaidin*, *Urdu*, and other scholarly journals. His many publications include *Urdu zabān ka itihās* (1956), *Daṭṭ-e-zabān-e-Urdū* (1960), *Kiṣṭa, masāl* (1962), *Urdu literature* (1966), etc. His latest book he deals with the origin, structure, and orthography of the Urdu language. He claims that Urdu derives its origin from a particular and definite old language of the sub-continent called Prakrit, now extinct and that developments in this Prakrit which later on led to the gradual creation of Urdu started taking place around 1500 B.C.

5. Maulvi Abdul Haq arrived in Lahore in March, 1948, in connection with the Urdu Conference at Lahore. During this visit to Pakistan he went to Karachi and established the Anjuman-i-Tarraqiq-e-Urdū Pakistan with headquarters at its present site. Sir Abdul Qadir, a pioneer in the promotion of Urdu in these parts of the sub-continent, was elected President of the Anjuman. In May, 1948, *Qasim Zaidin*, migrated from Delhi to Karachi. After Sir Abdul Qadir's death later in the year, Maulvi Abdul Haq was elected President of the Anjuman. He had succeeded in collecting a part of his library from Delhi and undoubtedly it is the most valuable collection of Urdu manuscripts, books, and documents in Pakistan. Early in 1950 the Anjuman started its Urdu College, in which Urdu is used as the medium of instruction at all levels on the pattern of Delhi College and Qasim Zaidin. The recognition of the College by the University of Sind in July, 1950, was regarded as an important event in Pakistan education. The Anjuman set up its programme and issued its publication programme. Several magazines were published in the areas of Urdu as a medium of instruction, reform of the Urdu script, translation of Urdu dictionaries, *Qasim Zaidin*, *Urdu*, *Urdu*, and other publications of the Anjuman were produced. And several new projects were completed, etc.

the collected writings of the famous 19th century French scholar of Urdu, Garcin de Tassy, were published in four volumes. The comprehensive bibliographical compendium *Qasim-e-Urdū*, which includes a detailed section on "Lisansyat" (Linguistics) is in progress. The project of printing Maulvi Abdul Haq's *Lughat-e-Kashmiri Urdu* in eight volumes covering about 8,000 large sized pages is reported to be in hand. After Maulvi Abdul Haq's death in 1961, Akhtar Hussain became the President and Jamiluddin Asli the Secretary of the Anjuman. In spite of various setbacks in recent years, the Anjuman is continuing its valuable services to the Urdu language.

6. In 1949 the provincial Government at Lahore established the Official Language Committee for preparing standardized official and court terms to enable Urdu to replace English as the official language. Hakim Ahmad Shuja was appointed full-time Secretary of the Committee. Justice S. A. Rahman of the Supreme Court of Pakistan, Hamid Ahmad Khan, Vice-Chancellor of the Punjab University; Mahmud Ahmad Khan, formerly of Osmania University; Syed Yaqar Aizim and Syed Nazim Hassan Abadi of the University Oriental College; and other language scholars of Lahore were associated with the preparation of this monumental work. *The dictionary of official terms and phraseology* comprises 63,000 standard terms and would compare favourably with projects of similar scope undertaken anywhere. In 1964 Hakim Ahmad Shuja was awarded Honorary Life Membership by the LROP. The citation also recognised the dedicated services of the Board of Translations and the Standardising Committee.

7. The Urdu Development Board, Karachi, was established in 1958 by the Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan. Mumtaz Hasan is Chairman and Shaukat Haq Haqqi is Secretary of the Board. The most important assignment of the Board has been the preparation of an Urdu dictionary on the pattern of the *New English Dictionary*. The principle followed by the Oxford dictionary and adopted by the Board is that of historical treatment of each word — current or obsolete — by tracing its etymology, as well as subsequent forms and usages in successive periods of history through illustrative quotations with complete references. This dictionary is proposed to be the basis of smaller dictionaries and further linguistic research in the field. By now about 800,000 quotations have been compiled. About 200 scholars from different parts of Pakistan have served as readers and scrutinizers. The compilation and writing of explanatory notes have gone on side by side. The first two volumes are now ready and have been revised by the Editorial Committee, which, *inter alia*, includes the heads of Urdu departments of all Pakistani universities. The third volume, which will cover material up to the eighth letter of the alphabet, will be ready by the end of 1966. Thereafter the Board proposes to complete two volumes per year and finish the work, comprising thirteen volumes in all, by 1972. A proposal for printing of the work has been submitted to the Government of Pakistan. Shaukat Sabzwari is the Editor of the Dictionary and has been engaged in this work from its

beginning. Eminent scholars like Shahdullah, Mumtaz Haseen, Shamsi Ikramullah, and others have been associated with the progress of this monumental work.

The Board has been regularly publishing its quarterly journal, *Urdu Aamish*, and a major portion of the articles appearing in it are of linguistic interest. Each issue carries 20 to 24 pages of the draft of the dictionary. For example, let us have a look at the February 1965 issue (December, 1965) of *Urdu Aamish*. It contains 24 pages of the draft of the dictionary. The first page is the title page, followed by the preface, and then the main body of the dictionary. The main body of the dictionary is divided into two parts: the first part contains the words in Urdu script, and the second part contains the words in Roman script. The words are arranged in alphabetical order.

The Board for Development of Urdu, Lahore, was established in 1962. Its first meeting was held on 15th March 1962. The Board has been working for the development of Urdu in various fields. One of its major tasks is the development of Urdu literature. The Board has been publishing a series of books on Urdu literature. The first book in the series is *Urdu Aamish*, which is a quarterly journal. The second book in the series is *Urdu Aamish*, which is a quarterly journal. The third book in the series is *Urdu Aamish*, which is a quarterly journal. The fourth book in the series is *Urdu Aamish*, which is a quarterly journal. The fifth book in the series is *Urdu Aamish*, which is a quarterly journal. The sixth book in the series is *Urdu Aamish*, which is a quarterly journal. The seventh book in the series is *Urdu Aamish*, which is a quarterly journal. The eighth book in the series is *Urdu Aamish*, which is a quarterly journal. The ninth book in the series is *Urdu Aamish*, which is a quarterly journal. The tenth book in the series is *Urdu Aamish*, which is a quarterly journal.

The Board has been working for the development of Urdu in various fields. One of its major tasks is the development of Urdu literature. The Board has been publishing a series of books on Urdu literature. The first book in the series is *Urdu Aamish*, which is a quarterly journal. The second book in the series is *Urdu Aamish*, which is a quarterly journal. The third book in the series is *Urdu Aamish*, which is a quarterly journal. The fourth book in the series is *Urdu Aamish*, which is a quarterly journal. The fifth book in the series is *Urdu Aamish*, which is a quarterly journal. The sixth book in the series is *Urdu Aamish*, which is a quarterly journal. The seventh book in the series is *Urdu Aamish*, which is a quarterly journal. The eighth book in the series is *Urdu Aamish*, which is a quarterly journal. The ninth book in the series is *Urdu Aamish*, which is a quarterly journal. The tenth book in the series is *Urdu Aamish*, which is a quarterly journal.

The Board has been working for the development of Urdu in various fields. One of its major tasks is the development of Urdu literature. The Board has been publishing a series of books on Urdu literature. The first book in the series is *Urdu Aamish*, which is a quarterly journal. The second book in the series is *Urdu Aamish*, which is a quarterly journal. The third book in the series is *Urdu Aamish*, which is a quarterly journal. The fourth book in the series is *Urdu Aamish*, which is a quarterly journal. The fifth book in the series is *Urdu Aamish*, which is a quarterly journal. The sixth book in the series is *Urdu Aamish*, which is a quarterly journal. The seventh book in the series is *Urdu Aamish*, which is a quarterly journal. The eighth book in the series is *Urdu Aamish*, which is a quarterly journal. The ninth book in the series is *Urdu Aamish*, which is a quarterly journal. The tenth book in the series is *Urdu Aamish*, which is a quarterly journal.



Standard Keyboard for Urdu Typewriters Designed by the Central Board of Urdu, Lahore.

India. The typewriter was manufactured by two firms in East Germany. It was inaugurated on August 21, 1966 by Kazi Anwar H. Q. Minister to Education, Government of Pakistan. The keyboard removes one major difficulty of Urdu typewriting in that all previously available Urdu typewriters, e.g., Remington, Everest, had different keyboards. It is yet to be seen whether it adequately meets the requirements of Pashto, Sindhi and other languages of West Pakistan.

The *Pakistan Times* (Lahore) in its edition of August 23, 1966, wrote: "The evolution of a keyboard for Urdu typewriters capable of adaptation as the standard one is perhaps the most significant step towards the promotion of Urdu in secretaries. A new system of typography is an absolute must for a complete switch-over to Urdu in offices, business, official or otherwise, as well as for urgently necessary expansion of Urdu publishing. The new keyboard undoubtedly fulfills one of our foremost requirements besides Urdu, it can be used for all the regional languages of West Pakistan. This is as it should be, because the promotion of national and regional languages should be coordinated as far as possible. The next and evidently more important step is to develop measures to popularise the use of Urdu type."

In the September 4, 1966, issue of this newspaper one critic who claimed to be "an experienced typist" attacked the keyboard because, whereas the top line on most keyboards is reserved for numerals and diacritical marks, this keyboard has letters and marks spread out, a fact which will necessitate a new method of typing. He said that because the touch system cannot cover four lines — physical movement of the fingers is controlled in the three lower lines — this keyboard "will not enable a typist to type at a speed of more than 20 words per minute, which means that copyists of Radio Pakistan would continue to copy scripts faster than Urdu typists". M. Afzal's



decision of the University of Karachi whereby Urdu was made compulsory from 1965-66, compulsory from 1967-68" (Jamshed 1967: 10). The University of the Punjab has adopted a different approach. In 1963 it decided to reduce Urdu as the medium of instruction in all its departments and the affiliated colleges. The option was given to the teachers and students to continue Urdu or to switch to English. At the end of the academic year 1963-64 the University authorities asked for reports from the departments and colleges about the situation in M.A. classes. The reports were to cover Urdu as offered to the teachers and students to do so. Separate reports were also asked for regarding the teachers who are giving instruction in Urdu and English.

10. John J. Kitchak, G. M. Malik, and their colleagues, at the Language Development and Research, University of the Punjab, have been studying the language situation in the province since 1963. They have been working on a project titled "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab". The project is based on a survey of the language situation in the Punjab. The survey was conducted in 1963-64. The results of the survey are being published in a series of reports. The first report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 1964. The second report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 1965. The third report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 1966. The fourth report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 1967. The fifth report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 1968. The sixth report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 1969. The seventh report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 1970. The eighth report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 1971. The ninth report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 1972. The tenth report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 1973. The eleventh report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 1974. The twelfth report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 1975. The thirteenth report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 1976. The fourteenth report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 1977. The fifteenth report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 1978. The sixteenth report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 1979. The seventeenth report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 1980. The eighteenth report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 1981. The nineteenth report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 1982. The twentieth report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 1983. The twenty-first report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 1984. The twenty-second report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 1985. The twenty-third report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 1986. The twenty-fourth report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 1987. The twenty-fifth report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 1988. The twenty-sixth report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 1989. The twenty-seventh report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 1990. The twenty-eighth report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 1991. The twenty-ninth report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 1992. The thirtieth report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 1993. The thirty-first report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 1994. The thirty-second report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 1995. The thirty-third report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 1996. The thirty-fourth report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 1997. The thirty-fifth report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 1998. The thirty-sixth report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 1999. The thirty-seventh report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 2000. The thirty-eighth report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 2001. The thirty-ninth report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 2002. The fortieth report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 2003. The forty-first report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 2004. The forty-second report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 2005. The forty-third report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 2006. The forty-fourth report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 2007. The forty-fifth report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 2008. The forty-sixth report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 2009. The forty-seventh report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 2010. The forty-eighth report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 2011. The forty-ninth report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 2012. The fiftieth report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 2013. The fifty-first report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 2014. The fifty-second report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 2015. The fifty-third report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 2016. The fifty-fourth report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 2017. The fifty-fifth report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 2018. The fifty-sixth report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 2019. The fifty-seventh report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 2020. The fifty-eighth report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 2021. The fifty-ninth report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 2022. The sixtieth report, "The Language Situation in the Punjab: A Study of the Language Situation in the Punjab", was published in 2023.

11. Anwar S. Dil's typeme analysis (1963a) and his booklet (1964a) have been published in the *Pakistan Linguistics series*. Syed Vazir Husain Abedi's unpublished paper, "Quantitative vowel gradation in Urdu and the teaching of rhythmical reading of verse", presented at the Second Pakistan Conference of Linguists, is one of the most original contributions to Urdu linguistics. Abedi's problem, however, is that he publishes very little. Shaykh Inayatullah's interesting paper, "Urdu ka Turki kusur", presented at the First All-Pakistan Urdu Tadris Conference held at Lahore in 1961, also remained unpublished. His "A project of an etymological dictionary of the Urdu language" has been published in *Studies in Pakistan Linguistics* (1965). Ghulam Masafiq Khan, Professor and Head of Department of Urdu and Persian, University of Sind, Hyderabad, has collaborated with N. A. Baloch in projects on Urdu and Sindhi language which are described elsewhere. His monograph (1952) and his paper (1960) should be of interest to us. Syed Shabir Ali Kazmi (1965) is a good possessor of common words in Urdu and Hindi. I should not forget to mention a recent Farooq's textbook on teaching of Urdu language, which is commonly used in many training institutions. Saleem Farani, formerly at the Central Training College, Lahore, is presently Principal of Teachers Training College, Karachi.

12. Among the works of Indian linguists, the following deserve special mention: Masud Husain Khan (1948) and (1955), and G. C. Narang (1961).

M. A. R. Barker of McGill University, who was with the Language Unit at Lahore from 1959 to 1961, was engaged in research on word count of Urdu based on texts from Pakistan newspapers.

The researches of V. M. Beshkromnyj, A. S. Barakdarov, A. V. Chervishov, V. P. Lipetovskiy, G. A. Zograf, and other Russian specialists in Urdu Linguistics are not generally available to Pakistani linguists.

#### C. Panjabi

1. The Panjabi Adabi Academy, Lahore, was established in 1957. Muhammad Baqir (1910- ), Principal, University Oriental College, is its Chairman. Baqir received his Ph.D. degree from SOAS in 1939. A magazine published by him in 1956a, 1961a, 1961b, 1962).

The Academy, according to a recent report on its work since its establishment, has been mostly active in the field of Panjabi literature. It has published excellent editions of Panjabi classics like Maulvi Ghulam Rasul's *Ahsanul Qasir*, Mirza Muhammad's *Safiatul Mithaq*, Warris Shah's *Heri*, and *Kuliyat-i-Bulbul-e-Shah*.

The Chairman told me that the Academy is planning to undertake the preparation of a standard history of the Panjabi language and a list of only sound grammatical description of Standard Panjab, in Pakistan. Baqir has been the moving spirit

behind the Panjabi Conference (1960), the Pakistan Regional Languages Conference (1961), and the Institution of annual seminars on Bulle Shah Day, Warren Shah Day, etc.

2. Hamid Ahmad Khan's paper (1963) was presented at the First Pakistan Conference of Linguists. While showing the similarities between the two languages, it aimed at presenting a model for "bringing out the inherent unity of various speech forms in Pakistan." Iftikhar Ahmad, Lecturer, Department of English, Panjab University, received his Master's degree in general linguistics from SOAS in 1962. He has been (Ahmad, 1963) one of the few scientific studies of the Panjabi language completed since 1947. He presented his findings at the Second Pakistan Conference of Linguists. They were published in *Pakistani Linguistics 1963*. Anwar S. Dil's unpublished paper, "The present status of Panjabi language in Pakistan", is now being revised for a meeting of the Research Committee on the Panjab (California, U.S.A.). *The Standard Panjabi dictionary*, which has been in preparation under the auspices of the Panjab Religious Book Society, Lahore, is reported to be ready for publication soon and has written some papers on the subject.

3. Perhaps the best descriptive work on the Panjabi language has been done by H. S. Gill at the Hartford Seminar, U.S.A., under the guidance of H. A. Gleason, C.U. (1949), his doctoral dissertation (1963a), and (1963b) — written in collaboration with H. A. Gleason and published in unrecoginized form — are perhaps the best available descriptions of relations between tone and intonation in Panjabi and Panjabi morphophonemics and syntax. Gill's findings regarding the "abs. are freedom" of phrase order in Panjabi sentences, as presented in his dissertation, require a more critical review than is possible here. K. C. Bahl of the University of Chicago is another descriptive linguist whose investigations are noteworthy. From which I had the privilege to see some time back. V. P. Varuk (1964), published in micrographed form by the Colorado State University, uses Gurmukhi script and as such is not easily accessible to Pakistani scholars, who use Perso-Arabic script. These readers, in spite of their limitations, represent the best work in the field and deserve wider use. Among the senior scholars, Motlan Singh Dewan's life-long contribution through editing several old and medieval manuscripts is of great interest to students of Panjabi linguistics. Hariram Singh Shah, Professor and Head of Department of Panjab, University of the Panjab, Chandigarh whom I met recently, told me about the valuable work his colleagues are doing, but unfortunately I have not had access to their linguistic publications so far. The Panjabi monographs and grammars published from Pucca, and V. B. Arun's *Panjabi bhanda aur hindus* published by the Panjab Sahit Academy, Ludhiana, are other notable works but they are not generally available in Pakistan. Among Russian linguists, M. A.

Siminov and N. Tolstaya have published excellent studies. Some of their works are available in the library of the Panjabi Adabi Board, Lahore.

#### D. Pashto

1. The Pashto Academy, University of Peshawar, was established in 1955 for development of the Pashto language, literature, and culture. Unlike other academies in Pakistan, the Pashto Academy is also a University teaching department which prepares students for the Master of Arts degree in Pashto. This responsibility was added to the Academy's functions in 1961. In the same year the Academy sent two of its scholars, Khayal Bokhari and Jahan Zeb Niaz, to the University of Michigan, where they worked with Herbert Paper, O. L. Chavarría-Aguilar, and Herbert Pearl in the preparation of a Pashto dictionary and set of readers. Bokhari and Niaz completed their requirements for the Master of Arts degree in linguistics in 1962. Since their return they have written a few articles on teaching Pashto to speakers of English and short descriptive articles on Pashto language. These articles have been published in *Pashto*, quarterly journal of the Pashto Academy.

Maulana Abdul Qadir (1905- ) director of the Academy, is one of the most influential language scholars of Pakistan. He is Editor-in-Chief of the Trilingual Pashto-Urdu-English Dictionary, Editor of the quarterly journal *Pashto*, Editor of the Central Board for Development of Urdu, and Member of the Advisory Council of the LRGP. Most of his writings are scattered as introductions, forewords, and editorials in various books and journals. In 1962 Maulana presented a proposal for establishing language and area institutes at various universities in Pakistan. The University of Peshawar has taken action on a part of the proposal and some scholars have been sent to the U.S.S.R., China, and other countries to receive education and training necessary to help build up suitable programmes at Peshawar.

Syed Anwarul Haque (1904- ) is Research Officer and Editor of the Trilingual Dictionary which has been in preparation since the establishment of the Academy. About 9,000 words of the first letter of the alphabet "Ain" are in press. This will form the first volume of the dictionary. Work on about 2,000 words of the letter "Be" is nearing completion. It seems to me that the Academy needs to have more and better facilities placed at its disposal for the completion of this important project. Prominent among Haque's writings are (1945),<sup>29</sup> (1949), (1958), and (1959).

Bashiruddin (1919- ), Reader in English, University of Peshawar, received some linguistic training at the University of Leeds. His professional interest is in teaching English to Pashto speakers, but he has also been interested in problems of teaching Pashto and Urdu as second languages. His paper, "Remedial work in English

<sup>29</sup> Haque, Syed Anwarul, "Pashto rasoi ul khat", *Nor Pakistan* (Delhi, August 10, 1942) [Pashto, Pashto rasoi ul khat], *Arfa-e-Afghan* (Ludhiana, 1945) [Pashto, Pashto rasoi ul khat].



## F. Other languages

Very little work has been done on other languages in Pakistan.

On Gujjarati hardly any linguistic work has been done in Pakistan. The work of George Cardona of the University of Pennsylvania, is highly esteemed. The most valuable recent contributions to Gujjarati linguistics have been made by P. B. Pandit and his colleagues in India.

The Balochi Academy, Quetta, established some time back, has mainly aimed at collecting the oral literature for which Balochi is most widely known. A Balochi-Livda dictionary is in the planning stage.

M. A. R. Barker's research on Brahui while he was with the Language Unit at Lahore has not been published so far. Muhammad Anwar Raza (1974), formerly a Professor of History at the Government College, Quetta, has published some general studies like "The Baruchas of Quetta Kalat region" (1960) which may be read with interest. Murray B. Emmerau's interest in Brahui dates back to 1957, when he published "Phonetic observations on the Brahui language" <sup>21</sup> based on his field work in the area. During the period under review he has published "Brahui demonstrative pronouns" (1961) and *Brahui and Dravidian comparative grammar* (1962).

On Shina, Muhammad Shuja Namas (1960), formerly Principal of Ismail College, Bhakkar, has published a voluminous book in Urdu (1961), his two articles (1963, 1965) have been published in recent volumes in the *Pakistani linguistics series*. Hermann Berger of Heidelberg University has contributed a valuable study (1965) in a recent L.R.G.P. publication, *Shahidiyah presentation volume*. John C. Gafford of the University of Michigan is at present working on a paper on the Nager dialect of Barchask for the next volume in the *Pakistani languages series*.

There exists a fairly good tradition of Persian studies in areas comprising West Pakistan. The University Oriental College especially has been a major seat of research on the Persian language. During the period under review Syed Muhammad Abdullah (1950, 1958), and Muhammad Baqir (1954, 1958, 1960, 1961), deserve mention here. Syed Yuzuf Hassan Abeti (1913- ), Reader in Spoken Persian, is one of the best scholars of Persian linguistics in Pakistan. His publications (1954, 1962, 1965) are valuable contributions to Persian language studies. Among his unpublished works are: *The influence of Arabic phrases on the Persian lexicon*, and *Linguistic affinities between Urdu and Avestan, Old Persian and Pahlavi*. Abeti's Shaukat Ali Khan (1916- ), Reader in Persian, has published a number of valuable papers (1957, 1958, 1963, 1964). Wahced Qureshi (1925- ), of the Department of Urdu, has published an interesting study, "The Indian Persian" in *Studies in Pakistani linguistics* (1964). He has been working for some time on a monograph on teaching Persian as a second language in Pakistan, to be published by the L.R.G.P. F. D. Razi (1914- ), Professor of

<sup>21</sup> *Enquiry*, New York, "Phonetic observations on the Brahui language" 65, 15-14, 1961 (1957).

Persian, Government College, Lahore, has compiled a useful Persian-Urdu and Urdu-Persian desk dictionary. Ghulam Mustafa Khan's monograph, *Farsi par Urdu ka awaz*, has been mentioned earlier. Fathollah Mejlisai of the Ministry of Education, Iran, is a Life Member of the L.R.G.P. He participated in the Second Pakistan Conference of Linguists and his paper, "A brief survey of the history of Persian language and its development", is included in *Pakistani linguistics 1963*. Shaykh Inayatullah (1901- ), formerly Professor of Arabic and Islamic Studies, Government College, Lahore, is an eminent Pakistani scholar of the Arabic language. His paper, "The teaching of Arabic in Pakistan", is published in *Pakistani linguistics 1963*. He is a member of the Advisory Council of the L.R.G.P. Serajul Haq, Professor of Arabic, University of Dacca, presented a paper on the teaching of Arabic in East Pakistan at the UNESCO International Seminar on "The contribution of the teaching of modern languages towards education for living in a world community" held at Nuwara Eliya, Ceylon, in 1953. The late Maulvi Muhammad Shafi, Editor-in-Chief of the *Encyclopedia of Islam in Urdu*, and Abdul Aziz Memon, whose services have been recently acquired by the Punjab University as Professor and Head of the Department of Arabic, are internationally known Arabic scholars but their work does not fall within the scope of this review.

In the field of English language, Anwar S. Dil's monograph (1966a) reviews in detail relevant linguistic activity in Pakistan.

Among the unpublished theses of those who received their linguistic training at the School of Applied Linguistics, University of Edinburgh, the following may be mentioned: M. A. Jafar (1959), Muhammad Tufail (1960), Ruqayya Hassan (1961), S. A. H. Hashmi (1962), and S. Hashmi (1963).

Mulvi A. H. Usmani (1922- ), Reader, College of Education, University of Peshawar, received his doctorate degree from the Texas Technological College, Lubbock, in 1965. His dissertation, (Usmani, 1965) is a valuable study of the present status of teaching of English in classes 6, 7, and 8 in the Peshawar Region. It presents an outline contrastive study of English and Urdu and points out major phonological teaching problems. It may be of interest to note that Usmani's survey based on the responses of 154 teachers to a question suggesting the possible objectives in teaching English in classes 6, 7, and 8 in the region showed (p. 158):

To finish the textbooks . . . . .	73
To prepare for examinations . . . . .	96
To help pupils to read and write . . . . .	118
To help pupils to understand spoken and written English . . . . .	90
To help pupils to speak and write English . . . . .	88
Any other . . . . .	0

It is obvious that many of the objectives for which English is being taught in actual practice are unsound. Regarding the methods of teaching English, Usmani's table (p. 158) is as follows:



be constructed from Arabic, Persian, or Sanskrit, or whether we should simply take over traditional terms".

Vice-Chancellor Husain, in his final report on the Conference, said: "There is need in Pakistan for the development of linguistic science both in research and in application to practical problems of teaching". He summed up the recommendations of the four committees, which confirmed the demand of experts for early establishment of departments of linguistics, linguistic training of the faculty of teachers training colleges, and in-service training programs in applied linguistics. The Conference recommended "(job a) [and] assistance from overseas scholars in general linguistics and special and applied linguistics; (b) overseas training of Pakistani teachers and students; (c) extending seminars and workshops in Pakistan to be attended by Pakistani scholars and teachers; (d) in-service and training activities and (e) encourage experimental projects", etc.<sup>37</sup>

The first Committee of the Conference, in its proposal for departments of general linguistics in universities, made the following recommendations:

A. Each language department in a General Linguistics to be established, one in each wing of Pakistan. It is suggested that the scope and functions of these departments be as follows:

1. Proper standardization of texts within the principal branches of General Linguistics.
2. General Linguistics to be taught to post-graduate students. Research and teaching should include the following: a) Phonetics and Phonology, b) Grammar, c) Lexicography, d) Textual Analysis and Translation.

The Linguistics Departments would give attention, *inter alia*, to the following:

1. Study of parallelism in the vocabulary and structure of English, Urdu, Bengali, and other languages of Pakistan.
2. The application of results of linguistic analysis in the teaching of English, Urdu, Bengali, and other languages of Pakistan.
3. Surveys of selected groups of dialects of Pakistan languages.
4. The study of the scripts of Pakistan languages in relation to grammar and other methods of reproduction.
5. Study of the language of the Holy Qur'an with reference to vocabulary and phrasal idiom.
6. Certain aspects of the phonetics of translation.

In connection with the establishment of Departments of General Linguistics, the following suggestions were made:

1. The holding of seminars of Pakistan Association with scholars in General Linguistics from abroad. Each seminar may be of about two months' duration.
2. a) Training of teachers: Twenty to thirty graduate students, preferably in small groups be sent abroad for a 1 to 2 year course leading to a higher degree in General Linguistics. b) Senior Pakistan scholars already working in the universities or at educational centres be granted such facilities as will enable them to pursue higher studies in General Linguistics abroad.

c) Provision be made for visiting Professors and Lecturers for periods of not less than

one session. It would be preferable if one senior Professor and one Lecturer selected by him were invited together.

3. Establishment of Departments: The establishment of the departments of linguistics will be possible on the availability of visiting Professors and Lecturers and trained Pakistani personnel. It is expected that after the first five-year period each department might have, in personnel, at least one senior Professor and a staff of at least four lecturers.

4. Initial requirements: Special libraries for seminars, two typewriters with movable type, keyboard, duplicator or machine and materials, tape recorder, stereogram, adequate office staff.

5. One Phonetics Laboratory to be attached to Department A. A trained Pakistani lecturer in (at least an M.Sc. with Physics) will be required.<sup>38</sup>

The second Committee concerned with the strengthening of language-teaching undertook the need for contrastive linguistic studies, utilization of the techniques of research in linguistics, the linguistic training of teachers of language-teaching, and the need for pilot experimentation in selected institutions.

The third Committee proposed the establishment of refresher courses for language teachers, and the need for including subjects like general linguistics. The proposal emphasized the need for including subjects like general linguistics and functions of language, practical work on phonetics, etc. It was proposed that such courses should be carried on for a period of one to three months at Lahore, Peshawar, Hyderabad, and Karachi in West Pakistan, and Dacca, Mysore, and Rajshahi in East Pakistan, or through the Education Extension Centers which were at that time included in the Five-Year Plan. It was proposed that not more than 30 trainees in English and 30 in one of the other two languages should be dealt with during each in-service course. The Committee recognised that the training in a course of this nature would have to be given by specialists in language-teaching with some knowledge of linguistics. To provide a sufficient number of in-service courses it would be necessary to train teaching staff for them. It was recommended that each such centre should have "two permanent teacher-trainers, one a specialist in English and the other a specialist in one of the other languages, either or both of them also being trained in linguistics and methodology of language-teaching". Seven such trainers were proposed to be trained overseas and the remaining in Pakistan at an intensive summer school organised with the assistance of overseas agencies. A recommendation for minimum equipment for the purpose was also made.<sup>39</sup>

The fourth Committee, which considered corollary questions, dealt at length with the teaching of Bengali in West Pakistan and the teaching of Urdu in East Pakistan. It suggested that "Urdu for Bengali-speaking children and Bengali for non-Bengali-speaking children should be included in the curriculum of the secondary schools as optional subject" and that adequate provision should be made by the universities for such facilities at the post-secondary stages. The Committee recommended the institution in the universities of one year's certificate courses in Bengali and Urdu for speakers of other languages who require it for purposes of business or administration.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid. 5-7.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid. 5-10.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid. 4.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid. 5.

a vocabulary common to Urdu and Bengali, and words and expressions of sentences in Urdu and Bengali in order to find out the extent to which they are common.

0-5769-857-5

in 1933, of the 133,332

Conference was the establishment of the Pa...

laboratory After exp.

He was a member of the

**Preparation of**

THE 25th ANNUAL MEETING OF THE

[illegible]

D. Y. Morgan of the British Council, who was in Lahore during this period and had first-hand knowledge on the subject, evaluates the work of the Urdu as follows:

I am afraid the Language Unit did not get much done beyond the elementary contrastive phonological studies and I don't know what has been published, if anything as a result of this work. I am sorry to hear that Mr. A. R. Barker did a word frequency count of Urdu newspaper vocabulary in order to contrast teaching materials for foreigner learners of Urdu but his texts ran to less than 200,000 words, so I don't believe his results would have much practical validity.

To me the best work ever done by the Language Unit was done by Colin Bulby when it first started in 1971. He was awarded a pre-University English course for Chemistry students at the University of Cambridge. Unfortunately, he had to leave through illness about a year after starting. He was a brilliant student and a very good speaker of English. Hyderabad was a very good place to study and work at. I was very happy to have been there.

Some idea of his reaction to the matter, the Language Commission can be had from the following remarks by Vice-Chancellor Hamid Ahmad Khan during the course of his presidential address to the Symposium on Development of Linguistic Studies and Research in Pakistan held at Lahore in January, 1964, under the auspices of the ERGP:

[illegible]

The first of the large L'Anse aux Lacs

4. Another outcome of the Language-Teaching Conference was the establishment of Language Sections at Education Extension Centres at Dacca and Lahore. Afia D I and Muhammad Mbiyuddin from Dacca and Anwar S. Dill and Nadeed A. A. V from Lahore attended on the month teaching a class of 150 students of this section. According to Charles C. Fries of the Law School of New York who was a participant of the World Foreign Languages Conference of the League of Nations, the training programme was designed to equip the trainees to take a leading part in the development of practical programs of language teaching as well as to deal with the whole range of basic language problems in Pakistan education. One of the ma-

D. J. Morgan has personal communications of May 10, 1966 to August 5, 1967. He was Chairman of the National Academy of Sciences, President of the American Association of Anatomists, and President of the American Society of Human Genetics.

tasks of the Language Sections was envisaged as: "training of a group of more than English teachers who themselves might be able to provide in-service education for the large numbers of English teachers in the nation".

At a D.I. and Mr. Ahmad Mubiyuddin gave a good start to the Language Section at Dacca but after six months Afia Dill left Dacca to join the Lahore Centre and Mubiyuddin left the Centre to accept an administrative position. Needed Ali, at the Lahore Centre had resigned earlier and left for the U.S.A. The Language Section at Dacca thus lost the 12 and services of both Language Specialists. The Lahore Section, however, started its in-service education and training program for secondary schools of Lahore, for teacher-leaders and headmistresses, and teachers. This program was a series of lectures, seminars, and workshops held at Peshawar, Swat, Abbottabad, Rawalpindi, Lahore, Multan, Bahawalpur, Hyderabad, Quetta, Karachi, and other places in West Pakistan. The two Language Specialists helped in introducing the elements of linguistic science to language teachers and other field workers. The program was strengthened when the provincial government opened three Regional Educational Extension Centres at Abbottabad, Khairpur and Karachi. A Language Section was appointed at each of the centres. These Language Instructors were designated for their task at the Language Sections.

The curriculum suggested by Mr. and Mrs. Dill were oriented toward "Applied Linguistics in English language teaching". The program broadly covered the following areas: 1) Basic concepts of language, basic principles of language teaching, basic principles of language teaching, teaching of English in secondary schools, 'is of English' West Pakistan, the language situation in Pakistan. 2) An introduction to English language, the sound system of English, the structure of English, the writing system of English, the English lexicon. 3) The curriculum of English in secondary schools of West Pakistan, teaching materials and materials of English teachers. 4) How to teach structure, how to teach vocabulary, how to teach pronunciation, improvement of pronunciation, pattern practice. 5) How to teach grammar, how to teach syntax, how to teach semantics, preparation of tests, tests and oral and written exercises. 6) Individual and small group use of language, use of language in the actual language context of the classroom through the use of language in the classroom and promote attention drills, etc.

The curriculum of the program was built around three main objectives: 1) To acquire the first steps in the development of modern English language science with special reference to the structure and teaching of English as a second language. 2) To introduce the Language Section to the development of English in the secondary schools of West Pakistan. 3) To improve the service of the teachers on English language — both at the secondary level — so that they could serve as better models for their students. This program was launched in a training course for teachers of Urdu in the Provincial Secondary Schools of Lahore. However, this project also suffered because of the lack of funds which were provided for the program. The program was not provided in adequate measure to

meet the challenge of the work. In 1955, Mr. and Mrs. Dill left for the U.S.A. for higher studies in linguistics. Meanwhile Mr. A. Jaffery of the Central Training College, Lahore, had been appointed as Language Specialist.

5. The LRGP was founded in August, 1961, for promoting linguistic studies and research in Pakistan and popularizing studies in Pakistani languages in other countries. Anwar S. Dil is the Founder-Director of this private, nonprofit professional organization of persons interested in Pakistani linguistics. From the beginning the LRGP has been planned to be both a national and international organization for conducting research and publication programs of scholars active in the field of Pakistani languages and linguistics. The term "Pakistani linguistics" covers the work of Pakistani linguists and language scholars — even if it deals with languages or linguistic subjects outside Pakistan, and the work of scholars in other countries on Pakistani languages or linguistic issues.

The first project of the LRGP was the compilation of a *directory of Pakistani linguists and language scholars* (Dil, 1962). The project was started in 1961, and a questionnaire was sent to about one hundred language scholars (not all of them linguists in the technical sense) in both parts of Pakistan in order to collect the following information: mailing address, permanent address, date and place of birth, education, institutions, positions held, present position, first language, other languages, at (institutions), positions held, present position, first language, other languages, views and travels, conferences, commissions and committees, linguistic specialties, professional publications, unpublished work, and research in progress. The information was gathered through correspondence, personal interviews, and use of published materials, etc. After necessary editing, information on 58 scholars was published in book format in June, 1962. This 68-page *Directory* has been fairly widely distributed in Pakistan, the U.S.A., Great Britain, Japan, India, Holland, Germany, and other countries. Work on the revised edition of the *Directory* is in progress and it is hoped that under its new title, *A roster of Pakistani linguists*, it will be published by 1969.

On the basis of the bibliographical information gathered through work on the *Directory*, plans were made to hold the First Pakistan Conference of Linguists. The three-day conference was held at Lahore on December 30-31, 1962, and January 1, 1963. The conference was inaugurated by Justice S. A. Rahman, Judge of the Supreme Court of Pakistan. A message was sent to the conference by Mohammed Ali, Minister for External Affairs of Pakistan. Muhammad Shahidullah and Masih Muhammad Shah were awarded Honorary Life Memberships in recognition of distinguished services to Pakistani linguistics. The papers presented at the Conference were later published in book form *Pakistani linguistics 1962*.

The Second Pakistan Conference of Linguists was held in January, 1964. Charles A. Ferguson and Hakim Ahmad Shuja were awarded Honorary Life Memberships for their distinguished services to Bengali and Urdu respectively. The last day of the Conference was reserved for the Symposium on Development of Linguistic Studies and Research in Pakistan. Charles A. Ferguson (U.S.A.), J. G. Burton-Page,

Plans are reported to have been about for sometime to raise this Cer-

... the Academic Post M A Diploma in Linguistics and ...  
... from the session 1965-66 and that it should consist of the following courses  
1. Course A: Paper I General Linguistics — Historical and Linguistic Study  
Paper II Substrates of English — Theoretical and Historical  
Paper III Phonetics — Theoretical and Historical  
Paper IV Semantics  
Paper V Methods of Teaching English as a Foreign Language  
Paper VI Applied Linguistics in the Methods of Teaching  
2. Course B: A dissertation to be approved by the Professor of English and the teacher in charge of the diploma course  
3. Course C: Practise Teaching  
It was further resolved that this Diploma be recognised by the University of the Punjab as a special qualification for Assistant Lecturers in the University.  
It was further resolved that the following subjects have been included in the syllabus:  
1. Do not know how far these subjects have been included in the syllabus.

8. In 1962, the Education Department of the Government of West Pakistan prepared a Project Report on the improvement of teaching of English at secondary and intermediate schools. The report was prepared by Qazi Khair Ahmad, then Director of Schools, Lahore Division, and D. Y. Morgan, English Language Officer, Urdu Board, Lahore.

It was proposed to establish an English Language Teaching Institute for teachers of English for training teachers in the teaching of English. The Institute was proposed to include theoretical linguistics and psychology in the curriculum. The Institute was proposed to be a well-known nucleus of a much bigger Institute and a model for similar institutes. A large institute might have on its staff a professional linguist and a professional psychologist and concern itself with research and the production of teaching materials.

No action has been taken on this project.

At the 5th All-Pakistan Science Conference held in Karachi in March 1962, the report was presented at the 14th All-Pakistan Science Conference held in Karachi in March 1962. The laboratory was proposed to serve as a teaching, research, and reference center for the language laboratories to be established in different parts of the country.

The language laboratories to be established in different parts of the country.

One hundred members of a meeting of the Board of Studies in English, University of Karachi, in November 1961, pp. 12. Education Department, Government of West Pakistan (Lahore, 1962) p. 24.

Teaching of English at secondary and intermediate schools.

... and 1 D. ...

... the ...

... the ...

... the ...

... the ...

... the ...

... the ...

... the ...

... the ...

... the ...

... the ...

... the ...

... the ...

... the ...

... the ...

... the ...

... the ...

... the ...

... the ...

... the ...

... the ...

... the ...

... the ...

... the ...

... the ...

... the ...

... the ...

... the ...

... the ...

... the ...

... the ...

future years. The scheme aimed at reorganising and overhauling language research, preparation of linguistically sound teaching materials in Pakistan and foreign languages, and preparation of teacher trainees in the proper use of these materials. Collaboration with agencies already responsible for such tasks by providing a central unit for purposes of coordination and avoiding duplication in view of the already scarce resources of the country. The proposed functions of the National Language Laboratory include the holding of intensive courses aiming at intensifying study and training in language laboratory theory and practice with practical demonstration of methods and materials. Seminars on special aspects of Language Laboratory as a Teaching-Aid Machine were to be held from time to time for dissemination of the latest knowledge in the field and coordinating research and publication programme. Prominent linguists, language scholars, language teachers, teachers training, and educationalists were to be brought together twice a year to evaluate the progress and research in progress and to suggest improvements. The publication of articles on language laboratory methods, preparing and making available tape-recordings and records for use in Pakistan and abroad; and maintaining an up-to-date reference library were part of the National Language Laboratory program. It was suggested that such a central agency could economise and strengthen the linguistic resources of Pakistan in several ways.

The scheme was taken in hand by the then Secretary to the Government of West Pakistan Education Department. But nothing was heard of it later. The paper has since been included in *Studies in Pakistani linguistics* (1965). This scheme may at some later date be incorporated in Dil's recent proposal for establishing Institute of Pakistani Languages — one each in East Pakistan and West Pakistan.

10. "A proposal for establishing language institutes in Pakistan" was presented by Vice-Chancellor Qadir during the First Pakistan Conference of Linguists for the establishment of an Institute of Central Asian Languages at the University of Peshawar for the teaching of Uzbek, Turkman, Baluch, Burushaski, Shina, Tibetan, Russian, Chinese, etc. on the initiative of South-East Asian Languages at Dacca for Japanese, Indonesian, Burmese, Thai, Tagalog, Assamese, etc., an Institute of African and Middle-Eastern Languages at Karachi and Hyderabad, and an Institute of Modern European Languages at Lahore.

11. During 1965 Vice-Chancellor Hamid Ahmad Khan proposed a Committee to evaluate the possibilities of having a department of linguistics at the University of the Punjab, Lahore, and Bhaqir, M. Afzal, M. Khair Ahmad and Anwar S. Dil were members of the Committee with the Vice-Chancellor as Chairman. No progress has been reported by the Committee.

12. Muhammad Abdul Haq, speaking in the Second Pakistan Conference of Linguists, S. D.

Over the years I have been trying to establish a department of Linguistics in the University of Dacca, but, for reasons beyond our control, it could not materialise. ... We could not succeed in setting up the proposed Language Unit because of lack of finances at the University of Dacca, but I succeeded in doing at least one thing, that is, in having as many as six members of my department trained in modern linguistics, some in the London School of Oriental and African Studies and some in the United States. Therefore, conditions are very favourable for the establishment of a department of Linguistics in Dacca."

13. The Ford Foundation and the British Council have been closely associated with the education departments and universities in some of the linguistic projects described above. But it seems to me that so far their efforts have been understandably directed more toward organising linguistic studies in India. There are indications now that such international agencies will be giving greater attention to the development of linguistic programs in other countries of South Asia.

## B

The following extract from Vice-Chancellor Hamid Ahmad Khan's paper (1963) represents an important trend in contemporary Pakistani linguistics.

"My aim is to emphasise that linguistic studies should be directed to bring out the interrelationship of various speech forms in Pakistan. Ours is a developing country, which has yet to achieve a sense of national cohesion. It is, therefore, necessary that general linguistic studies be as purposefully applied to the study of languages as to other departments of nation-building activity. While I deliberately restrain myself to the smaller field of a comparative study in only a pair of Pakistan, I hope I am at once understood to imply that it is equally desirable to extend the scope of this kind of study to other regions in both West and East Pakistan (p. 81).

All the Boards and Academies, the Pakistan Council for National Integration, the Pakistan Writers Guild, the national press, radio and television, give priority to such comparative studies of Pakistani languages.

Considerations of inter-regional understanding and national integration dominate the national approach to language and linguistic studies. For example, Justice S. A. Rahman in his inaugural address at the First Pakistan Conference of Linguists emphasised the problem resulting from having two national languages in the country and expressed the hope that with increasing contact between Bengali and Urdu we shall be brought nearer to the goal of the common national medium of expression (S. A. Rahman, 1963, p. 21). His proposal for a common script for the national languages was presented with the hope that "perhaps in the course of time the two wings of Pakistan may come to agree on a common script which may well be the Naskh form of Arabic script" (p. 21).

Another such proposal which attracted a great deal of attention in the national

pre-a came from the late Mohammad Ali of Bogra, then Minister for External Affairs of Pakistan. In his message to the First Pakistan Conference of Linguists he said

the people of East and West Pakistan if it succeeds at least in giving a new direction for the solution of the problem of a national language.

It is no doubt that if a national

here will be a greater feeling of cohesion and unity amongst the people because linguistic unity is one of the factors that connote nationhood. In the past no serious attempt has been made to solve this complex problem because the issue has been put

has become practically the *lingua franca* of the sub-continent.

I do not see why we cannot borrow from what has taken place

national language that will satisfy and meet the

and the feelings of the people in both the Wings (Ali 1963, pp. 24-26)

Needless to say, such proposals more often than not become matters of controversy.

These extracts point out a pur-

, which Pakistan linguists must handle whether or not their linguistic tra-

has prepared them for such a task.

### C

Pakistan the most immediate need of Pakistan. Linguists today should a revision of Pakistan the Inter University Board of Pakistan and other organizations in the of Pakistan the present state of linguistic studies and determine what facilities of Pakistan do to promote the best interests of the country and also determine what action is required to be taken to bring Pakistan linguistics more in line with recent researches in linguistic science in the U.S.A., Europe, the U.S.S.R., and other countries of the world. Priorities should then be determined, and properly coordinated development should be ensured so that duplication and the wastage of scarce resources is avoided. This realization would also underline the Pakistan linguists should do to develop linguistic linguistics and not content themselves with the present state of linguistic studies.

It is to be hoped that efforts will be made to establish an Institute of Pakistan linguistics each in East Pakistan and West Pakistan — no necessary a large group but a fully equipped place teaching and research unit responsible for coordinating the activities of other parts of the program. Perhaps these institutions could be made self-sufficient entities like the Pakistan Civil Service Academy or National Institute of Public Administration, so that they can function more effectively on the national and international level.

### 1. BIBLIOGRAPHY: 1941-66

A selected list of books, monographs and papers by Pakistani linguists and scholars. The list also includes some notes on Pakistani languages by linguists in other countries.

Abdullah, Syed Muhammad. "Pakistan me Urdu ka pahla saal". *Humayun, Selgurdh Number* (Lahore, 1948) [Urdu]. The first year of Urdu in Pakistan.

— "Urdu upon nae mahol me", *Humayun*, (January, 1949) [Urdu]. Urdu in its

new environment.

— "Farsi ke zere saye Urdu ki taraghi", *Urdu* (Karachi, 1950) [Urdu]. The devel-

opment of Urdu under the patronage of Persian language.

— "Gharibul Lughat ki qadi-qumai", *Oriental College Magazine* (November, 1950) [Urdu]. The importance of *Gharibul Lughat* (by Mir Asadullah Khan)

— "Mir Asadullah Khan me zubani-Urdu ke molatmaq chand mudat ke", *Oriental College Magazine* (November, 1950) [Urdu]. Some useful

points about the Urdu language in Mir Asadullah Khan's *Mahkam-ul-Sho'arah*.

— "Urdu ka mazid tadqiq ke imkanat", *Mah-e-Aam* (Karachi, July, 1953)

[Urdu]. Possibilities of the further progress of Urdu.

— "Oriental studies in Pakistan", *West Pakistan* (Lahore, 1958)

— (ed.), *Navad-ul-Asrar* by Sirajuddin Ali Khan Arzoo (Karachi, 1959) [With a

valuable introduction by the editor]

— (ed.), *Nazre Ra'yan* (Lahore, 1965) Presentation volume in honour of Justice

S. A. Rahman, Supreme Court of Pakistan)

Atah, Syed Nazim Hasan, "Irani Soliyat", *Oriental College Magazine* (Lahore,

July-August, 1954) [Urdu]. Persian phonetics.

— "Taj al-Asrar dar tarikhe Farsi mustafide Iran", (Lahore, 1962) [Urdu]. Studies in the

history of spoken Iranian.

— "Quantitative vowel gradation in Urdu and the rhythmic reading of verse"

unpublished paper presented at the Second Pakistan Conference of Linguists

January, 1964.

— "Tahfiz-e-Irani dar ash'ar-e-Amir Khusrav", *Nazre Ra'yan* ed. Syed Mu-

hammad Abdullah (1965) [Urdu]. Persian pronunciation in Amir Khusrav's

poetry.

Viral, M., "Some problems of Urdu script", *Pakistani Linguistics* (1962) 131-152 (1963)

— "A standard keyboard for Urdu typewriters", *The Pakistan Times Magazine*

I-II (Lahore, November 20, 1966).

Ahmad, Iftikhar, "Grammatical reduplication in Standard Panjab", *Pakistani*

*Linguistics* (1962) 65-76 (1964).

Akbar, Abdul Shaloor, "Iranian phonetics and Colloquial Persian", *Punjab University*

*Arabic and Persian Society Journal* (Lahore, 1957).

— "The historical and linguistic survey of Modern Persian language", *Punjab*

*University Arabic and Persian Society Journal* (Lahore, 1958)





- Frøstov, V. A., *Beluĉskij jezik, jeziki zvezdženo i ostrova i Afriki* (Moskva, 1960) [The Baluch languages].
- Frye, Richard N., "Remarks on Baluchi history", *CAJ* 6:44-50 (1961) [Linguistic support for the migration of the Baluchis].
- Gedney, William J., *Indic loanwords in Spoken Thali*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1947.
- Gilchrist, John B., *Qawā'id-e-Adab-e-Urdū: muḥṣur ba rī'ā'at-e-Gilchrist* (Lahore, 1962) [Urdu grammar. A reprint].
- Gill, H. S., "Punjabi tonemics", *And* 2:611-8 (1960).
- , *A descriptive grammar of Punjabi*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Harford Seminary Foundation, 1962a).
- , & Gleason, H. A., *A reference grammar of Punjabi* (imined, Hartford, Connecticut, 1962b).
- Government of Pakistan, Education Division, *Proceedings of the Educational Conference*, Karachi, 4-5 December, 1951. (Karachi, 1956).
- Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education, *Proceedings of the Language Teaching Conference* Karachi, 20-22 March, 1957.
- Government of West Pakistan, Education Department, *Project report on the improvement of teaching of English in secondary and intermediate levels* (Lahore, 1962).
- Government of West Pakistan, The Official Language Committee, *The dictionary of official terms and phraseology* (Lahore, 1962).
- Gumperz, John J., & Naim, C. M., *Urdu reader* (Berkeley, California, 1960).
- Hai, Muhammad Abdul, "Aspiration in Standard Bengali", *JL, Turner philologic volume 1* (1958).
- , *A phonetic and phonological study of nasals and nasalization in Bengali* (Dacca, 1960).
- , and W. J. Ball, *The sound structures of English and Bengali* (Dacca, 1961).
- , "A study of Dacca dialect", *Pakistani Linguistics* (1963), 105-125 (1964a).
- , *Dhaka vijñān o bangla dhani-śāstra* (Dacca, 1964b) [Bengali: Phonetics and Bengali phonology].
- , "A study of Chittagong dialect", *Studies in Pakistani linguistics* 12-38 (1965).
- , "A study of the Sylhet dialect", *Siddhanta presentation volume* 25-36 (1966).
- Hamp, Eric P., "Pashto vowels", *Studies in linguistics* 12:3-4, 74-7 (1957).
- , "Notes on Kafir phonology", *Siddhanta presentation volume* 69-100 (1966).
- Harnisch, John J., "An Urdu word study", *Pakistani linguistics* (1963) 143-152 (1964).
- Hasan, Ashraf Hussain, *Modern language and its relation to Urdu* unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of the Punjab, (Lahore, 1961).
- Haque, Saïdullah, "The teaching of Arabic in Pakistan", *The teaching of modern languages, problems in education* 10:275-80 (UNESCO, Paris, 1953). (The account is limited to East Pakistan).
- Haque, Saïd Anwarul, *Pashio par farṣī ki āwar* (Karachi, 1959) [Urdu, The influence of Persian on Pashto].

- , "Pashto farhang navis", *Pashio*, Journal of the Pashto Academy (Peshawar, October-December, 1958) [Pashto, Pashto lexicography].
- , "Pashto islahat", *Pashio*, Journal of the Pashto Academy (January-March, 1959) [Pashto, Pashto terminology].
- Harper, D. P. L., "Error analysis in language teaching", *Pakistani linguistics* (1963) 71-90 (1964).
- Hasan, Ashraf Hussain, *Urdu zarf-i-ta'lim aur tadrīs* (Karachi, 1963a) [Urdu, Technical terms and Urdu as medium of instruction. A publication of the Bureau of Composition, Compilation and Translation, University of Karachi].
- , "Problem of medium of instruction", *Pakistan Quarterly* 13:4, 123-8 (1965b).
- Hasan, Rungya, *Linguistic study of a literary text — Aghas Husein's "Kerakur's child"*, unpublished thesis, School of Applied Linguistics, University of Edinburgh (1961).
- Hashmi, Ashraf Hussain, "Problems of English pronunciation", *The Indian Educational Quarterly* 4:2, 41-50 (April, 1962).
- , "English and Urdu vowels", *The Indian Educational Quarterly* 4:3, 32-42 (October, 1962).
- Hashmi, Nasiruddin, *Dakhni (qadim urdu) ke cheid taluq me asar-in* (Delhi, 1963) [Urdu, Some research papers on Dakhni (Old Urdu)].
- Hashmi, S., *A comparative study of some phonological features of Urdu and English*, unpublished thesis, School of Applied Linguistics, University of Edinburgh (1963).
- Hashmi, S. A. H., *A critical analysis of modern readers*, unpublished thesis, School of Applied Linguistics, University of Edinburgh (1962).
- Hidayatullah, Qazi (ed.), *Modern Pashto instruction*, vols. 1-2 by Qazi Rahmatullah Khan (Peshawar, 1954).
- Hodge, Carleton T., "The Persian verb dialectically considered", *Siddhanta presentation volume* 141-145 (1966).
- Huq, Shaikh Ikramul, "A note on Multani language", *Pakistani linguistics* (1962) 43-54 (1963).
- Huq, Maunvi Abdul, *Urdu ki ibarati mashur nazm me Sufiye karam ke kam* (Karachi, 1953) [Urdu, The work of the Sufis in the early development of Urdu].
- , *Qadim urdu* (Karachi, 1961) [Urdu, Old Urdu].
- , *The student's standard English-Urdu dictionary* (Karachi, revised edition, 1965).
- Husain, Muhammad Afzal, *Our language problem* (Lahore, 1957) [Presidential address at the Language-Teaching Conference, Karachi, 1957].
- , "Foreword", *Pakistani linguistics* (1962) 9-12 (1964).
- Husain, Saïd Ehtesham, *Dastan-e-Urdū* (Karachi, 1965) [Urdu, First published in 1966 under the title: *Urdu ki kahani*].
- Hussain, S. Saïd, "Position of English in Pakistan", *The Pakistan Review*, (Lahore, July, 1958).
- Husaini, Shaikh, "Lisan-i-yar", *Mu'arraf* (Azamgarh, January 1960) [Urdu, Linguistics].

- , "Urdu ki Ta'kid-e-af", unpublished paper presented at the East Asia-Pakistan Tenth Conference, Lahore, December, 1961.
- , "Teaching of Arabic in Pakistan", *Pakistan Linguistics* (1962) 27-32, ed. Anwar S. Dul (Lahore, 1963).
- , "A project of an etymological dictionary of the Urdu language", *Studies in Pakistan Linguistics* 197-233 (1965).
- Irshad, Sayyid Ishtiaq Ali Shah Khan, *Daryaz-e-lughat* (Karachi, 1962) [Urdu philology and grammar].
- Islam, A. K. M. Aminul, "Some prosodic characteristics of inward relations in Bengali", *Pakistan Linguistics* (1963) 45-64 (1964).
- , "The compound word in Bengali", *Shahidullah presentation volume* 53-60 (1966).
- Iqbal, Muhammad Rafiqul, *Bengali grammar*, unpublished M. A. thesis, Cornell University (1960).
- Jalil, M. A., *A critical analysis of English reader book 1 for class 17*, unpublished thesis, School of Applied Linguistics, University of Edinburgh (1959).
- Jamil, Maja, "English in Pakistan", *Pakistan Quarterly* 11:33-42 (Karachi, Spring 1963).
- Jatoi, Ali Nawaz Khan, "Nation and language", *Mohini* 8:151-53-6 (Hyderabad, January 15, 1952) [Sindh].
- Karungo, G. B., *The language controversy in Indian education: a historical study* (Chicago, 1962).
- Kash, Beg Mehar Dattatraya Kain, *Adhyayn* (Karachi, 1940) [Urdu, Urdu philology and grammar].
- Katkhail, Sayyid Bahadur Shah Zafar, *Zafar-e-lughat* (Peshawar, 1960) [Pashia, Urdu dictionary].
- Katkhail, Syed Shabbir Ali Karam, *Urdu-Bazm-e-Mashurake Afsar* (Karachi, 1965) [Urdu, A glossary of the common words of Urdu and Bengali].
- Khan, Qudus Musafir, *Farsi per Urdu ke star* (Karachi, 1953).
- Khan, Hamid Ahmad, "The common structural basis of Urdu and Panjabi", *Pakistan Linguistics* (1962) 81-84 (1963).
- Khan, Nawab Husain, *Miyad-e-ma'arif-e-urdu-e-Urdu* (Lahore, 1948, revised edition, 1955) [Urdu, An introduction to the history of the Urdu language].
- , *Pakistan and Pakistanist study of the word in Urdu* (Lahore, 1955).
- Khan, Mohammad Ayub, "Adoption of Arabic Naskh for Persian Nastaliq, a question that needs consideration", *Speeches and statements of Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan, President of Pakistan*, 6:214-7, July 1963-June 1964 (Karachi, 1964).
- Khanbhadri, L. M., *The vocalization of Urdu and Sindhi in Hindi: a study of language in context*, Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania (1963).
- Lahiri, Siba Prasanna, *Shilpi Mahatmya in Bengali* (Dacca, 1962) [Bengali, An introduction to the philology of the Sylhet language].

- Lambert, H. M., *Introduction to the Devanagari alphabet for students of Sanskrit, Hindi, Marathi, Gujarati and Bengali* (London, 1953).
- Le Page, R. B., *The national language question: linguistic problems of newly independent states* (London, 1964).
- Longyear, Christopher R., *Manual for teachers of English* (Lahore, 1963).
- Lorimer, D. L. R., *The Wakhri language*, 2 vols. (London, 1958).
- , *Werkshwar English vocabulary: with a few Werkshwar texts* (Oslo, 1962).
- Mackin, Ronald, *Alternative syllabus in English for classes VI, VII and VIII, prescribed by the East Pakistan Secondary Education Board, Dacca* (Notification No. 1668 dated the 30th April, 1955) (Dacca, 1955).
- Mahmud, Satnam, "Language and social work", *Pakistan Linguistics* (1962) 73-80 (1963).
- Marghoob, Ghulam Kareem, "Difficulties in learning Urdu number names", *Bulletin of Education and Research* 2:21-30 (Lahore, Winter 1963).
- Memon, Rahim Baksh, *Ta'lim madari zabon* (Hyderabad, 1962) [Sindhi, Teaching of Sindhi language].
- Mirshadudin, Sheikh (comp.), *Qanunul islahat* (Lahore, 1965) [Urdu, Dictionary of technical terms].
- Mohyuddin, Mubhammad, "General characteristics of the intonation of Bengali", *Shahidullah presentation volume* 37-46 (1966).
- Mojibai, Fathollah, "A brief survey of the history of Persian language and its development", *Pakistan Linguistics* (1963) 133-142 (1964).
- Morgan, D. Y., "Language problems in certain multi-lingual societies", *Pakistan Linguistics* (1962) 61-72 (1963).
- , "English text-books for Pakistan", *Pakistan Linguistics* (1963) 97-104 (1964).
- Muhammad, Faiah, *Afsab-e-adeb 'urf sahita jo sifi* (Karachi, 1956) [Sindhi, A treatise on Sindhi language].
- Muhammad, Qazi Din, "Some syntactic structures in Bengali", *Pakistan Linguistics* (1962) 153-164 (1963).
- , "A study of noun in Bengali", *Pakistan Linguistics* (1963) 177-196 (1964).
- , "Sentence type and verb forms in Bengali", *Dacca University Studies* (1964).
- , "Bangla kria pader rup", *Sahitya Parika* (Dacca, 1965) [Bengali, Verb forms in Bengali].
- Mughni, Tamasana Imadi, *Af-ah-i-murakhkha* (Karachi, 1961) [Urdu, Compound verbs].
- Nasrati, Maulvi Nurul Hasan Kaktari, *Nurul lughat* vols. 2-4 (Karachi, 1959) [Urdu dictionary].
- Nasrus, Mohammed Shuja, *Gilgit aur Shina zabon* (Balewalpur, 1961) [Urdu, A history of Shina languages in Gilgit].
- , "The origin of Shina language", *Pakistan Linguistics* (1962) 55-60 (1963).
- , "A comparative study of some features of Urdu and Shina", *Studies in Pakistan Linguistics* 67-78 (1965).
- Nurani, G. C., *Kurkhanduri urdu* (Delhi, 1961).

- Nasim, Validat. *Urdu zaban aur Urdu* (Delhi, 1964) [Urdu. Urdu language and word].  
Pacifi, P. B. "Jad-o-Azan shobans in Gujarati", *JL* 14:36-40 (1954).  
—, "A note on Gujarati", *JL* 15:14-24 (1955-61).  
—, "Vocalization, aspiration and murmur in Gujarati", *JL* 17:165-72 (1957).  
—, "Diphthongs, glottal and juncture in Gujarati", *JL*, Turner Jubilee volume I 212-218 (1958).  
—, "Historical phonology of Gujarati vowels", *Lg.* 37:54-66 (1961).  
—, *Phonetic and morphemic frequencies of the Gujarati language* (Poona, 1963).  
Panjabi Adeb Academy, *Punjabi Adeb Academy gazetted new vol* (1957-65).  
Panjabi Adeb Academy, *Urdu. A progress report on the Panjabi Adeb Academy* (1957-65).  
—, *Report of the year ended 30th June, 1955* (Lahore, 1965) [English-Urdu].  
Parsi, M. S., Mohi, J. J. "Vowel system of Gujarati" (Baroda, 1961).  
Paul, H. C. "A vocabulary of Perso-Arabic words in Bengali with illustrative examples", *JL* 23:116-44 (1961) [Center A].  
Pezdi, Herbert. "On the cases of the (Afghan) Pashto noun", *Word* 6:70-73 (1950).  
—, "Algebra descriptive of the (Afghan) Pashto verb", *JAOI* 71:91-111 (1951).  
—, *A grammar of Pashto: a descriptive study of the dialect of Kandahar, Afghanistan* (Washington, D.C., 1955).  
—, "Western loan words in Modern Pashto", *JAOI* 81:41-52 (1961; reprinted in *Studies in Pashto linguistics* 167-196, 1965).  
—, *A reader of Pashto* (Ann Arbor, 1962).  
—, "The origin of the past tense of the Pashto verb", *Sindhilah presentation volume* 101-106 (1965).  
—, "Review of Shams's *A short grammatical outline of Pashto* edited by Herbert Pezdi", *Lg.* 41:29-34 (1965).  
Pittsburgh, V. *A grammar of the Poth language* (Colombo, 1953).  
Peters, G. E. and M. Joel F. Holloway. *Language and communication in the Communist world* (London, 1965).  
Qadir, Masud. "Addresses", *Pakistan linguistics* (1963) 31-36 (1964).  
Qadir, Masud. "Address", "A proposal for language institutes in Pakistan", *Pakistan linguistics* (1965) 65-69 (1965).  
—, "Introduction", *Pakistan linguistics* (1965), 13-15 (1964).  
Quart, Walter (ed.). *Pashto mi Urdu*. By Hafiz Muhammad Sharif (Lahore, 1963).  
—, *Urdu. Urdu language in the Punjab*. A reprint.  
—, "Urdu bharat-gaurav zabani", *Makhaan Urdu* (Lahore, October 18, 1964).  
—, *Urdu. Urdu as a national language*.  
—, "The Indian Persian", *Studies in Pakistan linguistics* 39-66 (1965).  
Raza, N. N. *Dastur-e-kutub-i-ghosia-i-fish-e-hayat-e-vaghsam-i-jazib* (Feroze, Zilchi, 1964) (Vostok, 12) 65-70 (1961) [Consonant groups and their function in the Arabic language (Pashto)].  
Rahaman, S. Abdul. "The problem of medium of instruction in Pakistan", *The Rahman, S. Abdul*, 4:3-55-61 (July, 1963).  
Ramstedt, Gustaf John. "Marginal notes on Pashto etymology", compiled, rev. and edited by Periti Ailla, SO 17:5 (Helsinki, 1952).  
Ray, Puja Shikha, Hal. Muhammad Abdul Ray, Lia, *Bengali language handbook* (Washington, D.C., 1966).  
Ray, Puja Shikha, *A study of the Dacca and Calcutta Standard Dialects of Bengali* (unpublished).  
Razi, F. D. *Faruq namah-jadid, Farsi, Urdu, English* (Lahore, 1952) [Modern Persian-Urdu-English dictionary].  
Rooman, Muhammad Anwar, *The architects of Qaria Kela' Imam* (Karachi, 1960).  
Russell, R. "Some problems of the treatment of Urdu matter", JRAS 45:58 (1960).  
Sabzwari, Shaikh, "Urdu ki Ash, Inqa aur Shush". *Journal of the University of Sahrawi*, Shaikh, "Urdu ki Ash, Inqa aur Shush". *Journal of the University of Sahrawi*, 10:1-32 (November, 1965) [Urdu. Extension lectures on the origin and development of Urdu].  
—, "A phonetic tendency of Urdu", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan* 1:78-86 (Dacca, 1956; reprinted in *Studies in Pakistan linguistics* 79-92, 1965).  
—, *Urdu zaban ka Inqa* (Dacca, 1956) [Urdu. The evolution of Urdu language].  
—, *Urdu zaban ka Inqa-Urdu* (Karachi, 1960) [Urdu. A history of the Urdu language].  
—, *Urdu zaban-e-Urdu* (Karachi, 1962) [Urdu. Linguistic issues].  
—, *Lisami mas'il* (Karachi, 1962) [Urdu. Linguistic issues].  
—, *Urdu lisamiyat* (Karachi, 1966) [Urdu. Urdu linguistics].  
Saeedi, Shahid Muhammad, *Lisami mas'il aur nazariyat* (Karachi, 1965) [Urdu. Linguistic problems and theories].  
Sarvar, Chaudh, *Tarkhi-zabani Farsi* (Karachi, 1962) [Urdu. A history of the Persian language].  
SEATO. *Report of the Conference of Heads of Universities*, University of Karachi, January 25 to February 1, 1961, mimeo.  
Second Pakistan Conference of Linguists, "Symposium on the development of linguistic studies and research in Pakistan", *Pakistan linguistics* (1963) 247-284 (1964) [Speakers: Charles A. Ferguson, J. G. Burton-Pages, J. D. Pearson, Farukh Mehmood, Muhammad Shahdullah, Shaikh Sabzwari, D. Y. Morgan, Abu Lais Siddiq, Muhammad Abdul Hal, Mahmud Abdul Qadir, Vice-Chancellor Hamid Ahmad Khan (Chairman), Anwar S. Dui (Convenor), Semman, K. L. (tr.), *Arabic phonetics* (Lahore, 1965) [Translation of Ibn Sin's *Ritashah* on speech sounds].  
Sen, Sukumar. "Reciprocal instrument in Bengali", *JL* 17:4-5 (1957).  
—, "The position of the negative particle in Bengali", *JL* 19:100-2 (1958).  
Shaikh, D. Ali, *A short grammatical outline of Pashto*, translated and edited by Herbert H. Payer (Blomington, 1964) [Publication of the Indiana University Research Center in Anthropology, Folklore, and Linguistics, 33].  
Shah, Maalik Muhammad, "Foreword", *Pakistan linguistics* (1962) 11-13 (1961).

- Shahid, I. H. Mubammad, "The Varena Country of the Avesta", *Indo-Iranica* 3 215-18 (October, 1948).
- , "Semantic changes in Indo-Aryan languages: a short note", *Bengali Literature* 2:1 (April, 1956).
- , "The philology of Pakista language", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan* 2:25-8 (1957).
- , "The Ancient Indus Valley people", *Dawn* (Karachi, May 4, 1959a).
- , "Sumerians and the Urdu language", *Dawn*, (Karachi, May 20, 1959b).
- , "The Indo-Aryan parent speech", *J. L. Turner jubilee volume* 2:112-7 (1959c).
- , "Common origin of Urdu and Bengali", *Pakistan Quarterly* (Karachi, 1959d).
- , "The origin of the Bengali language", *Bengali Literary Review* 1:10 (November, 1959e).
- , "The origin of the Sinhalese language", *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 5:1, 108-11 (1962).
- , "The influence of Urdu-Hindi on the Bengali language and literature", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Pakistan* 7:1, 1-16 (1963).
- , "Urdu and Bengali", in *Bengali and Urdu, a literary encounter*, edited by Syed Ali Akbar (Dacca, 1964).
- , "The languages of the North-West frontiers of Pakistan", *Pakistan Quarterly* (1965) 37-44 (1965).
- , *Bangla bhasa-robhya* (Dacca, 1965a) [Bengali, A history of the Bengali language].
- , *Pakya pakistana-e-avebhar bhaskar abhaskar* 1-2:1 (Dacca, 1965b) [Bengali, A dictionary of the dialects of East Pakistan].
- Sayyid, Mubashir Mahmud (ed.), *Mingalul-Hafiz Mahmud Sharani Urdu zaban aur uski ishtirakiyat aur mushtakiyat* (Lahore, 1965) 2 vols. [Urdu, Essays on the evolution of Urdu language by Hafiz Mahmud Sharani].
- Siddiqui, Fakhro-Talifo-Tarjuma, *Farhang islahat-i-falsafah* (Karachi, 1962) [Urdu, A publication of the Bureau of Composition, Compilation and Translation, University of Karachi].
- Siddiqi, Abu Laib, "Urdu language and literature", *Pakistan Quarterly* 8:344-9 (1963).
- , "The language problem in Pakistan literature", *Pakistan Quarterly* (1963) 91-95 (1963).
- , "Problems of linguistic and cultural integration in Pakistan: historical perspective and present situation", *South Asian perspectives* volume 109-122 (1965).
- , (ed.), *Urdu and Urdu* (Lahore, 1965) [Urdu, Urdu (Urdu), A publication of the General Board for Development of Urdu, Lahore].
- Schroeder, Ewaldin Chester, *A test of the comparative method for historically controlled reconstruction based on four Modern Indian languages*, Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University (1955).
- Speiser, John, "The Aryan-Indians and their speech", *Lingua* 15:57-73 (1966).

- Talbot, N. I., *Jazyk pandita, Jazyki arabu in go Vostoka i Afrike* (Moskva, 1963) [The Pandita language].
- Tufail, Mubammad, *The shift in meaning of English loanwords in Urdu*, unpublished thesis, School of Applied Linguistics, University of Edinburgh (1960).
- Turner, Bryan Lee, "The nominal compound in Urdu", *Bulletin of Education and Research* 3 21-29 (Lahore, 1964).
- Turner, R. L., *A comparative dictionary of the Indo-Aryan languages* (London, 1967, in progress).
- University of Dacca, Department of Bengali, *Bhasha o sahitya sapidha* (Dacca, 1964) [Bengali, Proceedings of the Bengali language and literature week celebrated in Dacca, 1964].
- Usmani, Mufi Ashfaq Husan, *A study of the tracing of English as a foreign language in the secondary schools of the Peshawar region*, M.A. thesis, Ed.D. thesis (unpublished), Texas Technological College, 1965.
- Vauk, V. P., *Pakistani reader* (Fort Collins, Colorado, mimeo 1964).
- Warner, Hans J., "Pakistan linguistics 1963", *IRAL*, August 1965, 3 3-23-5 (1965).
- Webster, Warren W., "The ideal of the mother-tongue and its contribution to the learning of Urdu", *Studies in Pakistani linguistics* 11 5-124 (1965).
- Yusuf, Sa'd Husan Khan, et al (tr.), *Al-munajjid Arabi Urdu* (Karachi, 1962) [Arabic-Urdu dictionary].
- Zulqar, Ghulam Husain, "Oriental College ki sad sala tasniif mayat", *Adabi Duniya* (Lahore, September, 1965) [Urdu, 100-year old tradition of the Oriental College publications].

For most stuff of the older western writers on Urdu exp, see footnotes on pp. 686-687